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JACOBITES OF ABERDEENSHIRE AND BANFFSHIRE IN THE FORTY-FIVE

Prince Charles Edward.

From a print in the British Museum.

Gravé par J. Doullé graveur du Roy, 1744.

JACOBITES OF ABERDEENSHIRE & BANFFSHIRE

IN

THE FORTY-FIVE.

BY

ALISTAIR AND HENRIETTA TAYLER

Authors of

"The Book of the Duffs" and "Lord Fife and his Factor."

SECOND EDITION

ABERDEEN

MILNE & HUTCHISON

1928

Note to the Second Edition.

A second edition having been called for, the authors gladly take the opportunity to make a few minor corrections, kindly furnished by two families concerned, and to correct two obvious misprints.

Alistair and Henrietta Tayler.

11th October, 1928.

By special permission, obtained during the last week of his life, this book is affectionately dedicated to the memory of

WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE, LL.D., D.L.,

the greatest authority on the Forty-Five,

by his cousins, the authors,
ALISTAIR TAYLER AND
HENRIETTA TAYLER,
at Duff Cottage,
Angmering-on-Sea,
in Sussex,
July 11,
1928.

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INTRODUCTION.

"He sent our lawful Prince among us
And I followed him."
—Laurence Oliphant of Gask.

It is to be presumed that those who are sufficiently interested in Scottish History to read an account of the events which took place in the Counties of Aberdeen and Banff during the Jacobite Rising of 1745-1746 are familiar with the main history of the period.

The object of the present work is to show how great was the part played by the inhabitants of these two counties in Prince Charles Edward's attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors, and the General History will only be touched upon when necessary to elucidate this point.

The dates of the more important events are here given in table form:—

June 22, 1745.—Prince Charles embarked at Nantes on board the "Du Teillay."[1]
July 23.—Landed at Eriska.
July 25.—Landed on the mainland (Loch-nan-Uamh).[2]
August 19.—Raised his standard at Glenfinnan.
August 26.—The pledge of loyalty signed by all the chiefs at Invergarry.
September 4.—The Prince's army entered Perth.
September 17.—The Highlanders took possession of Edinburgh.

[1]This is the correct name of Antony Walsh's vessel, usually called "La Doutelle." She was named after Monsieur du Teillay, then Commissary of the Marine at Nantes. (French Foreign Office Papers.)

[2]This is now held to be the correct spelling.

September 21.—Defeat of Cope at Prestonpans.
November 8.—The Prince crossed the Esk into England.
November 14.—Surrender of Carlisle to the Prince.
December 5.—Halt at Derby, and retreat begun next day.
December 18.—Skirmish at Clifton.
December 20.—Esk reforded.
December 23.—Battle of Inverurie.
December 30.—Loss of Carlisle by the Jacobites.
January 17, 1746.—Battle of Falkirk.
March 20.—Skirmish at Keith.
April 16.—Battle of Culloden.
September 20.—Escape of the Prince to France.

As John Buchan pointed out in an Essay, written over thirty years ago, the story of the last Civil War in Great Britain and its romantic origin is already fading into oblivion, and those who still think of it tend to visualise it as affecting only the Highlands and as being waged only by the picturesque inhabitants of the North and West, who wore nothing but the kilt and spoke nothing but the Gaelic!

The most cursory reading of the reports of the "Trials of the Rebels" would go far towards dispelling that illusion. It should also be remembered that the previous Jacobite Rising of 1715 derived its *main* support from the two counties which are the subject of this monograph, and that the following lairds who "went out" in 1715 all had sons who supported Prince Charles in 1745:—

Abernethy of Mayen.
Dunbar of Durn.
Gordon of Aberlour.
Gordon of Avochie.
Gordon of Buckie.
Gordon of Carnousie.
Gordon of Glastirem.
Gordon of Letterfourie.
Gordon of Park.
Hay of Rannes.
Innes of Coxton.
Moir of Stoneywood.
The Marquis of Huntly.
Menzies of Pitfodels.

Those who took part in both Risings were:—

Thomas Arbuthnot.	Gordon of Glenbucket.
Patrick Duguid.	Colonel James Innes.
Farquharson of Balmoral.	Irvine of Brucklay.

Lord Pitsligo.

The following prominent families only of this district had changed sides:—The Duke of Gordon's, Lord Findlater's and Abercromby's of Birkenbog, and in 1745 were found opposing the cause they had supported thirty years before.

Our "Nor-east" corner, cold and bleak though it may be in parts, was found capable of the warmest enthusiasm and the most enduring loyalty, not only to its Prince, but to its lairds, as is shown by the stories of Lord Pitsligo, Moir of Stoneywood, Gordon of Blelack and others.

Lord Lovat, whose real sympathies, whether Jacobite or Whig, have never been ascertained, but who had a very shrewd appreciation of affairs, wrote to the Lord Advocate on 23rd August, 1745:—"I hear that mad and unaccountable Gentleman has set up a standard at a place called Glenfinnon on Monday last." And again on 17th, to the Lord President Forbes, he says, "this desperate Prince will be the occasion of much bloodshed," while in October he notes that "*All* the gentry in the Shires of Banff, Aberdeen, Perth and Stirling are in motion to join the Prince, as they call him." Two months after the Prince's landing, Lovat wrote again to Lord President Forbes, "That man must be a real prophet which can tell which of the sides will carry. . . . But let Monarchies, Governments and Commonwealths, take up fits of Revolutions and Wars, for God's sake, my dear Lord, let *us* live in good friendship and peace together."

The value of Lovat's friendship was seen when, veering for the time to the Jacobite side, he sent his

followers to try, unsuccessfully, to kidnap the Lord President in his own house! (See page 21.)

In writing this history, the authors have made full use of all previous works on the Rising from which details as to the special district could be obtained.

Of particular value have been the article on the subject in Dr. Blaikie's "Origins of the Forty-Five,"[1] and the Diary of the Rev. John Bisset, one of the ministers of St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, published by the old Spalding Club.

The very full account of the sack of Cullen House has been drawn from the contemporary records of the evidence in the Register House in Edinburgh.

For whatever is new and hitherto unpublished in their work, the authors have relied upon the State Papers and other MSS. at the Record Office,[2] and the British Museum, also very largely upon private correspondence and family records and traditions preserved in the district, which they have made it their business to collect during many years past.

Their special thanks for help in this respect are due to:—

Cavendish Abercromby.
Miss Mabel Allardyce, Aberdeen.
W. Barclay, *Journal* Office, Banff.
J. Malcolm Bulloch, LL.D.
The late Edward Gordon Duff.
The late Miss Fyffe Duff of Corsindae.
The late Thomas Gordon Duff of Drummuir.
Garden Duff of Hatton.
Norman Farquharson of Whitehouse.
Colonel Lachlan Forbes.
Colonel Ian Forbes, D.S.O., of Rothiemay.

[1]Published by the Scottish History Society.

[2]Quotations from these, which are numerous, are marked (P.R.O.).

J. C. Ogilvie Forbes of Boyndlie.
Alice, Lady Forbes.
G. M. Fraser, Aberdeen Public Library.
The late James Grant, LL.B., Banff.
The late A. J. Mitchell Gill, Auchinroath.
Edward Gordon of Cairnfield.
James Gordon, Peterhead.
John A. Henderson, Cults.
Thomas Innes of Learney.
Alex. Irvine of Drum.
Quentin Irvine of Barra.
R. Murdoch Lawrance, Aberdeen.
Charles Leith-Hay of Leith-hall.
Hugh Lumsden of Clova.
A. M. Mackintosh, Nairn.
The Rev. James Marr, Tynet.
H. Duff McWilliam.
Mrs. Russell of Aden.
The Countess of Seafield.
David Samson, Cullen.
Sir Bruce Seton of Abercorn.
W. Douglas Simpson, D.Litt., Aberdeen.
Patrick Gordon Shee of Letterfourie.
Dr. Tocher, Aberdeen.
Captain Tulloh, Melrose.

Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the "Forty-Five."

PART I.

> "The whole region between the river Dee and the river Spey, comprising the two counties of Banff and Aberdeen, forms a natural province; there is no recognisable line of demarcation between the two counties, their fortunes have been one."
>
> —Cambridge County History, Aberdeenshire.

Many historians in dealing with the Forty-Five in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire have asserted that there was little support or enthusiasm in these counties, but a careful study of the evidence shows the support to have been both widespread and effective. In common with the rest of Scotland, Aberdeen and Banff had not received the benefits which had been promised by the Act of Union, and the grievance of being largely governed from London was still great. As showing local feeling, it must be remembered that the Chancellor Earl of Seafield, one of the largest landowners in Banffshire, who had been a chief agent in bringing about the Union, changed his views, being exasperated by the policy of the first Parliament of Great Britain in extending the malt tax to Scotland, contrary to the spirit of the Union. On 1st June, 1713, he moved in the Lords for an Act to dissolve the Union, and was defeated by a majority of only four proxy votes! As a consequence of this, his name was removed from the list of sixteen representative

peers of Scotland, and he was not again returned to the British House of Lords. There were, undoubtedly, at the time of the Rising many other causes for dissatisfaction in Scotland, and the farmers, especially in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, believed themselves to be ill-used. A certain number of leading men in Aberdeenshire did, indeed, support the Hanoverian Government more or less firmly, and among these may be mentioned Lords Aberdeen, Aboyne, Forbes, Kintore, Saltoun, Strichen, Sir Alexander Burnett of Leys, Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, Sir Alexander Reid of Barra, Leith of Glenkindie, Forbes of Inverernan, Burnett of Kemnay, Horn of Westhall, Buchan of Auchmacoy, Paton of Grandholm, Forbes of Echt, Farquharson of Invercauld and Patrick Duff of Premnay. A contemporary writer has asserted that if all these had been genuinely enthusiastic and acted together they might have arrested the rebellion (in the county), but he also hints that at least a third of them were really disaffected and some of the others were either too indifferent as to who governed or else too lazy and timid to take any active steps.

On the other side it is only necessary to draw attention to the numbers of the more prominent Aberdeenshire and Banffshire men who fought for the Stuart cause, of whom full biographies will follow in Part II.

A large number of the poorer people in these counties undoubtedly favoured the Rising, and many farmers were persuaded to join by a promise that a Stuart Sovereign would repeal the obnoxious malt tax. A contemporary Government account states that the towns and villages on the coast of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire "were mostly all disaffected," but that "fully two-thirds of the two towns of Aberdeen were very well affected to the Government." The ministers of the Established Church were also firm supporters of the

existing dynasty, and by their influence persuaded many to abstain from taking up arms. Owing to their known usefulness to the Government, many ministers were asked, and agreed, later on, to plead for mercy for various condemned Jacobites. In forwarding a petition from all the members of the Presbyteries of Kincardine O'Neil and of Alford, for the pardon of Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie, the Rev. John McInnes, who writes it, gives as a reason why the petition should be granted, the great efforts of all ministers who "strove so hard in the late Rebellion to counteract the efforts of the Roman Catholic priests, and, in consequence, have incurred much hatred." He adds, "It would be of great use both to the Ministers and to the Country, if his Majesty would shew what weight their application has." (P.R.O.)

The "Non-Jurant Clergy" were nearly all confessed Jacobites or active sympathisers, whilst the Roman Catholics gave, as has been seen above, all the support in their power to the Prince of their own faith.

The first important man in our district to rise in support of the Stuart cause was John Gordon of Glenbucket, who, although seventy-two years of age, mounted his horse and met the Prince at Kinlochmoidart on 18th August.[1] He immediately afterwards returned to Banffshire, where he busied himself in raising men by all kinds of means. It was certainly owing to Glenbucket's energy and enthusiasm that the Rising took such a firm hold in our two counties. Dr. Cramond, late schoolmaster of Cullen, was of a different opinion as to this hold. He minimises the Jacobite feeling, and speaking of Banffshire only, says in "the Annals of Banff," that "the second Jacobite Rebellion cannot be

[1]Bringing with him the captured Captain Swettenham, afterwards released on parole, and allowed £29 by the Government for getting back to London! P.R.O.

said to have met with much general sympathy from the district," and in the "Scottish Antiquary" for 1892 he further says, still more strongly, "All evidence goes to shew that the '45 was regarded, in general, as a considerable nuisance." But much information has come to light since Cramond's day; and a rival historian, James Grant, in his "Records of the County of Banff," says, "From the time when General Cope passed through Banff in September, 1745 (on his way to defeat at Prestonpans), to March, 1746, with the exception of a few days about 18th December, when MacLeod and his Hanoverians passed through to their defeat at Inverurie, Banffshire was held solidly for Prince Charlie." This is possibly a slight exaggeration, but, undoubtedly, the Rising received strong support both in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. Practically *all* the proprietors along the coast of Banffshire, except Lord Braco, Lord Findlater, Lord Banff, Alexander Garden of Troup, Sir Robert Abercromby of Birkenbog, General James Abercromby of Glassaugh and Alexander Gordon of Cairnfield, were enthusiastic Jacobites.

Another prominent man in Banffshire who did not support the Prince was the Duke of Gordon;[1] he seems to have played rather an equivocal part. He delayed for some time to declare himself either way, and when Glenbucket carried off horses and arms from Gordon Castle, whilst the Duke was there, he made no active protest, and it is even hinted that it was done with his connivance.[2] His brother, Lord Lewis Gordon, was extremely keen in the Stuart interest, and not till November, 1745, did the Duke definitely disavow the activities of Lord Lewis.

[1]At that time Gordon Castle (as well as Fochabers town, as then existing) was in Banffshire; owing to change of boundaries both are now in Morayshire.

[2]See page 252.

Lord Findlater (the son of the Chancellor Earl, famous for his remark on the Treaty of Union—"Now there's the end of ane auld sang"), was too feeble in health to take much part in the affairs of the day. In 1715, while still Lord Deskford, his loyalty had been doubted, and he was imprisoned for a time but subsequently released. When, in 1745, matters became too hot for him in Banffshire, he fled from that county and took refuge with his son-in-law[1] at Castle Grant, but in the following spring he joined Cumberland at Aberdeen. There never was the slightest doubt as to where *his* sympathies lay, and the pillaging of Cullen House in April, 1746, was the Jacobite protest against his attitude. Lord Braco never wavered in his loyalty to George II, as is shown by the gifts he made to the King's army on many occasions. He, too, joined Cumberland in Aberdeen and accompanied him in his march to Banff and to Culloden. Braco's relatives were much connected with the Jacobite party; two brothers-in-law, William Baird of Auchmedden, and Sir James Kinloch of Nevay, were "out," the latter being a prisoner after Culloden and condemned to death, but pardoned. Another brother-in-law — who was also his cousin—Sir William Dunbar of Durn; a son-in-law, Sir William Gordon of Park, and a nephew, James Duff, were all, as will be seen, "out" with the Prince.

Alexander, 6th Lord Banff, was a Captain in the Navy. He was appointed to the command of the "Tilbury" of sixty guns in August, 1745, and was in command of her when he died at Lisbon in December, 1746, at the age of 28. Alexander Garden of Troup, like his father and grandfather, was a staunch supporter of the Hanoverian succession, and had an unpleasant experience at the hands of the Jacobites a few months

[1]Ludovick Grant.

after the battle of Culloden.[1] His younger brother, Francis, was actually taken prisoner by the Prince's army.[2]

Amongst others in Banffshire who adhered to George II may be mentioned Archibald Duff of Drummuir, Peter Gordon of Ardmeallie (he and Gordon of Cairnfield being two of the few Gordons in the county who supported the Hanoverian cause), Captain James Grant of Ballindalloch, Thomas Grant of Achoynany and Arndilly, John Innes of Edingight, Alexander Keith of Northfield and James Leslie of Kininvie. James Abercromby of Glassaugh, already mentioned, who subsequently rose to be a General and commanded the British forces at the unfortunate affair at Ticonderoga in 1758, was member for Banffshire from 1734 to 1754. He was present with Cumberland's army besieging Carlisle in December, 1745, and as a Banffshire laird and neighbour was approached (through the medium of John Vere, a prisoner) by John Hamilton, the Jacobite Governor, and others of his council, with a request that he would negotiate a capitulation on honourable terms. He appears to have made no reply. (P.R.O.)

THE first intimation which the town of Aberdeen received that a Rising in favour of the Stuarts was contemplated, was contained in a letter sent to the magistrates by the Marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary of State, with the King's message to Parliament on the subject of a projected invasion backed up by French help. In consequence the Town Council resolved in February, 1744, that a loyal address be sent to his

[1]Page 251.

[2]Page 18.

Majesty, and on the news of the landing of Prince Charles and the outbreak of the Rising in August, 1745, it was decreed that "the town should be put in a posture of defence" and that the citizens should be "armed in 12 companies" against the possible arrival of the Highland army, which was already inspiring terror. On the same day (19th August) that Prince Charles raised his standard at Glenfinnan, General Sir John Cope (who looked upon the Rising with disdain) left Edinburgh and marched north. After narrowly missing the Prince on his way, he reached Inverness on 29th August. From that place he sent orders to Edinburgh to collect and send to Aberdeen 2,000 tons of shipping for transporting his army to the Forth, and, after waiting for six days at Inverness, he set out with 2,100 men on 5th September, and, marching by Fochabers, Cullen, Banff, Turriff and Old Meldrum, arrived in Aberdeen on 11th September. When in Aberdeen, Cope (according to Andrew Henderson in his "History of the Rebellion") camped, in spite of remonstrance, "amidst the ripe standing corn."[1] As the English General was unwilling to embark his troops in the Aberdeen fisher-boats which were offered to him, he had to remain there four days until the vessels ordered from Edinburgh arrived and were ready to sail again. He spent the time inspecting the defences of Aberdeen, and found several large and small cannon on the fort at the harbour and also a considerable supply of small arms. These Sir John demanded should at once be sent away and lodged in Edinburgh Castle. The magistrates demurred, but Cope insisted, pointing out that the few cannon were not enough to repel the enemy and might easily fall into their hands. The magistrates unwillingly agreed, and Cope carried off all the guns with him, thereby leaving the town absolutely defence-

[1]The spot where he did so was then called Dove-Cot Brae, and is now occupied by Union Terrace.

less and at the mercy of the first Jacobite force that might come along. Nor did Aberdeen have long to wait!

But before chronicling the arrival of the Highlanders, it may be stated that the Town Council of Aberdeen made careful preparations, as is shown in the Burgh Records, where it is said (under date 15th September) that "the councill, considering the troubles that are presently in this county and neighbourhood, recommend to the magistrates that they should have trusty persons as spys at all corners, at any distance they shall judge proper, in order to give intelligence of the motions of any enemy, and to impower them to hyre horses, and be at all necessary expence."

On 25th September, at the election of the new Town Council (whether after warning by the aforesaid spies or not), Aberdeen was visited by John Hamilton of Sanston[1] in Strathbogie with a party of 25 horse and 70 foot, who, marching through the town with drums beating and colours flying, halted at the Market Cross. Here they were joined by all their well-wishers in the town, and, demanding the keys of the Cross, sent some men to search for James Morison, the Provost. The latter must have avoided this party, for a second was sent with orders to burn his house if he did not at once appear. Eventually the Provost was carried a prisoner to the Town House. What happened thereafter is best described in his own letter, written two weeks later, to the Lord President. He prudently dates it merely from "near Aberdeen. 10th October, 1745."

"My Lord,

The place you hold under his present Majestie and the so faithfull pairt your Lsp. has acted in your high station for the interest of his sacred person, and all that's dear and valuable to Great Britain at this juncture,

[1]Or Sandieston, now Huntly Lodge.

makes me presume to trouble you with what follows. I am just now at some distance from Aberdeen and from my family, not thinking myself safe to be in the way of those who had used me in so unreasonable odd a manner as was my fate on the 25th past, when being seized upon by an armed party of Highland men was violently forced down to the Cross; and there, with some broad-swords over my head, was obliged to stand till their Proclamation was read; and because I refused to drink a health they proposed, I had a glass of wine spilt down my breast; which was, I acknowledge, making me suffer in a way, next to taking my life, that non could have affected me more. In so farr they got what they aimed at; but sure it was no advantage to their cause. It is my great support, that what I underwent on this occasion, was for endeavouring to be faithfull in the discharge of my duty in my station, under the present happy establishment, and which I hope shall ever esteem it my greatest honour to doe, as Providence shall give me opportunitie. In the forenoon they thought fitt to disperse; for my part, I had gone out of town, and almost ever since have scarce seen my own house."[1]—(Culloden Papers).

After the proclamation of 1745, the Jacobites had the town bells rung and made great rejoicings, and "as a pretended jubilee, caused throw open the prison doors, whereby those that were committed for murder and other crimes, as well as for debt, made their escape."[2] The Provost and some of the Council having fled from Aberdeen, the Jacobites remained in the town, taking horses and arms from the inhabitants, and "threatening all and every person that should do any act or deed but in the name of their Pretender, that they would be immediately committed to prison."

[1]It is interesting to note that this proclamation of King James the III and VIII at the Market Cross of Aberdeen was the second that had been made on the same spot. He had been proclaimed there on the occasion of the Earl of Mar's Rising on 20th September, 1715.

[2]Contemporary Records.

Aberdeen was occupied and ruled by the Jacobites for the next five months. Lord Lewis Gordon was appointed Governor and William Moir of Lonmay Deputy Governor. The Town House was occupied and guards were set at various places, whilst taxes, levy money and quartering money were extracted from the inhabitants, who had to pay in order to prevent military execution and the destruction of their houses.

Shortly after these events had occurred in Aberdeen, according to an entry in the Rev. John Bisset's Diary, James Chalmers, the printer, fled, having refused to print any more Jacobite declarations. Bisset adds, "I am afraid we shall have no more of his news schedules."[1]

A later entry in Bisset's Diary for 22nd November says that poor Chalmers was still unable to walk from injuries to his legs when he leapt from his window in escaping, and "the rebels committed great outrages in his house, breaking open the door, scattering his types, burning papers and breaking presses and drawers."

On the night of 13th December, according to the same authority, an armed force obliged Mr. Chalmers's boys (he himself being in hiding) to print a Proclamation from Lord John Drummond, and a letter from the Earl Marischal to Lord John about raising his friends in the north. The letter was afterwards discovered to be a forgery, and was repudiated by the Earl Marischal, who took no part in the Rising of the '45.[2]

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[1]These were probably handbills containing the news of the day, and were succeeded in 1748 by the *Aberdeen Journal*, printed by the same James Chalmers, being the first newspaper produced north of the Forth.

[2]See page 35.

Lord Braco had diplomatically attended on Cope at Aberdeen, and, after the General left for the south, he hurried back to Morayshire. Sir Harry Innes wrote to Ludovick Grant on 10th September that he had on the previous day met Lord Braco and his second son, James, who were going west to be free of Glenbucket! Meanwhile, the latter himself had been busily raising recruits, and was at Strathbogie with some 300 men when Cope reached Aberdeen. Some anxiety was felt lest the Jacobites should attack the town; they did not, however, do so. Munro of Culcairn, with a force of 200, had accompanied Cope to Aberdeen, and, knowing his men to be better armed than Glenbucket's, marched straight back to Banff. Glenbucket was actually in the town of Banff on the morning of the day that the Munroes reached it, but left just before they arrived and went back to Strathbogie. Thence he retreated to Strathaven and Glenlivet, where he resorted to arbitrary methods of raising men, in some cases burning houses in order to force their occupants to join him. Ludovick Grant of Grant hearing of these actions sent about 300 men to Strathaven, whereupon Glenbucket retired from the neighbourhood. Grant wrote on 12th September, 1745, to Cope at Aberdeen to inform the General of what he had done, and added:—"Glenbucket marched early Saturday from Strathdown and Glenlivet and I have the pleasure to write you that a great many of the Protestants in that part of the country have been dissuaded from joining him. By all the information I can have, Glenbucket did not get above 130 men to go with him from Strathdown and Glenlivet, and some of these are deserting him and returning home. In the year 1715 he marched near 500 men from that part of the country."

A letter from Penuel Grant of Ballindalloch to her brother, Ludovick, of 5th September, 1745, shows what was occurring in the district:—

"Dear Brother,

The people of Morange[1] were last night threatened with being plundered, if they did not rise and goe immediately to the Highland Army, I believe they are not willing, and they have this day sent their cattle to this country. I do not hear that we are to be troubled here; but you know the Duke of Gordon pretends a right to the superiority of the lands of Morange, and Glenbucket uses freedom with them upon that account.

Your affectionate sister,

PENUEL GRANT."

Glenbucket had previously acted as the Duke of Gordon's factor or "baron baillie," and had, therefore, some influence with the tenants.

Cope left Aberdeen by sea on 15th September, reached Dunbar on the 17th and marched to Haddington on the 19th. Meanwhile, Prince Charles, who had been collecting men and supplies, entered Edinburgh on the same day that Cope reached Dunbar. Four days later Cope's army was completely defeated at Prestonpans. In connection with the battle an adventure must be recorded which happened to two young men from Edinburgh; one of them, Francis Garden, already mentioned,[2] and later known as Lord Gardenstown, being a native of Banffshire. They had ridden out from Edinburgh to Musselburgh the day before the battle, with what object is not clear, some say out of sheer curiosity, others that they were among the City Volunteers. They entered Luckie Chrystal's Inn and had a hearty meal of white wine and oysters. While seated at an open window watching the movements of the Highlanders, they were seen by one of Prince Charles' Life Guards, who, being suspicious of their presence,

[1]Morinsh, pronounced locally "Morange," is in the parish of Inveraven.

[2]See page 12.

arrested them and carried them to the camp at Duddingston. There they were brought before John Roy Stuart, Colonel of the Bodyguard, who took them for spies and proposed immediately to hang them! In this unfortunate position they were lucky enough to be recognised by young Colquhoun Grant[1] (afterwards a Writer to the Signet), who was serving in the troop commanded by Roy Stuart. Grant was able to prove the innocence of the captives, and, being entrusted with the duty of guarding them, later on allowed both to escape.

After the victory of Prestonpans, Prince Charles returned to Edinburgh, and, taking up his residence at Holyrood, remained for six weeks, while some of the glories of the ancient capital were revived. He was joined by many supporters from various parts of the country, amongst those from Aberdeenshire being Farquharson of Monaltrie, Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Pitsligo, John Hamilton and David Tulloh. From Banffshire there came, first and foremost, John Gordon of Glenbucket, who reached Edinburgh on 4th October with about 400 men from Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. He had marched south by the westerly roads, and thus avoided Aberdeen and the larger towns.

Previous to or about this date there also joined from Banffshire, Sir William Gordon of Park, Baird of Auchmedden, Gordon of Carnousie, Gordon of Aberlour, Gordon of Cobairdy, Gordon of Glastirem, Sir William Dunbar of Durn, George Abernethy, brother to the Laird of Mayen, and many others. James Crichton of Auchingoul raised a company in Banffshire, and, having collected a few men from the town of Aberdeen, he also

[1]Colquhoun Grant, after Prestonpans, pursued a party of dragoons back to Edinburgh; and the inhabitants were amazed by the sight of the defeated cavalry galloping up the High Street followed by a single Jacobite! The troopers just managed to get into the Castle, and Colquhoun Grant, as the gate closed behind them, stuck his blood-stained dirk into it as a token of defiance!

proceeded south. There were several other gentlemen and farmers from Banffshire, who had each raised a few men, and, as a contemporary account states, "all got commissions of one kind or other, which was by no means hard to be obtained."—("Origins of the '45.")

The Prince appointed Lord Lewis Gordon (who was not quite twenty-one years of age!) to be Lord-Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, although in the first arrangements made by the "Associators,"[1] who had signed the preliminary letter to Cardinal Fleury asking for French help in March, 1741, these two counties were assigned to the care of the Duke of Perth, who was supposed to stir up and foster a Jacobite spirit in them. This fact appears in the "Memoirs of Murray of Broughton." Perth, however, was very little in Scotland prior to 1745. He had lived for many years in France,[2] and just before the Rising was for a short time in England, living in York, but it is noticeable that Lord Lewis Gordon seemed to feel himself primarily responsible to Perth for his conduct in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. The two following letters (which have not hitherto been printed) are in the Public Record Office:—

[1]These were the Duke of Perth, his uncle, Lord John Drummond, Lord Lovat, Lord Linton (afterwards Traquair), Cameron of Lochiel, Campbell of Auchinbreck and MacGregor of Balhaldy. The letter to Cardinal Fleury, signed and sealed with seven seals, is in the French Foreign Office. Of the seven Associators, only two, viz., the Duke of Perth and Lochiel, actually took part in the Rising. Lovat did not declare himself, Lord John Drummond and Campbell of Auchinbreck felt themselves too old. MacGregor remained in France and Traquair in England.

[2]It was even said that he spoke the English tongue imperfectly, being more at home both in French and in broad Scots. He survived the campaign but died on board ship when escaping to France in April, 1746.

Letter from Lord Lewis Gordon (taken from James Grant, a prisoner) to John Murray of Broughton.

"Huntly Castle, 28 October 1745.

Honoured Sir,

I find it is absolutely necessary to be at Aberdeen soon, and in the meantime Doctor Alex Gordon, the Bishop's Brother, and Mr. Farquharson, is to be diligent as possible in raising the Highlanders. And the moment that proper officers of each sort are appointed for raising and transacting the public affairs, I shall repair with all diligence to the Highlands to convene the men, and bring them to this country, as their presence seems to be absolutely necessary for raising the Commonaltie in the Low Countrie—Tomorrow I sett out for Banff to settle affairs in that Town and Friday sett out for Aberdeen, which Cittie as I am informed is able to afford a contribution of £2000 sterling, and likewise the Town would be willing to pay it, if proper application were made, and I beg the favour in your next you will let me know the Prince's resolution touching that matter. I waited yesterday on General Gordon[1] and showed him all my instructions from the Prince and advised with him on everything I thought might be conducive to his Royal Highness Interest, and he told me that with regard to my aprehending the Precedent[2] he thought it a thing impractible as 220 of the Frazers had made a regular attack on his house without success. It is fortified with some pieces of cannon—which possibly you may have heard of already—enclosed you have a paragraph of a letter I had this night from Lessendrum."

Extract of a letter from Mr. Bisset of Lessendrum to Lord Lewis Gordon, dated Lessendrum, October 23, 1745.

"Inverallochy's Express called here this morning early in his return from Inverness. He says ye Frazers

[1]General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul, a veteran of the '15, too old to fight, but valuable in counsel and called the "Nestor of the Rising."

[2]Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

were all in a stir but he heard nothing of their time of marching. My Ld Loudon has been there with his money and it seems laid out some of it in recruiting with sucess. The express says yt he spoke with some of ye recruits that owned publickly they were to serve Loudon. I design to see Inverallochy in a day or two to hear what intelligence of these clans.

JAMES BISSET."

There is no other trace of the Jacobite sympathies of Bisset of Lessendrum. He must have confined himself to showing a friendly interest. He was an elderly man at the time and died in 1748. His sister Anne was married to Peter Gordon of Ardmeallie, an active Government supporter and a J.P. of Banffshire, before whom were signed various depositions, etc. Mary, only child of Peter Gordon and Anne Bisset, married John Gordon of Avochie.

The second letter is addressed to the Duke of Perth, about the two counties he "has the honor to direct":—

"Huntly Castle, 28 October, 1745.

Honored Sir,

I pretend to very little ability as to executing so great a commission as his Royal Highness has trusted me with, but I do assure your Grace yt no man concerned in this glorious cause has more zeal for its success or shall be more indefatigable to promote it to the utmost of my power than I shall be. I am in hope to bring up a tolerable reinforcement both of horse and foot, but I have both Gentlemen and the Commonalty more remiss than I expected, and I am credibly informed by the Prince's best friends that their slowness is chiefly owing to ye vile Presbyterian Ministers who abuses ye Prince's goodness towards them by inculcating a Parcell of infamous lies into People's heads. The Duke my brother is still in a very bad way. I sent for Mr. John Gordon, his chief Commissioner, and after a proper consultation we agreed that it was best for me not to see him at all. Gordon likewyse assures yt he has spent so

much money for a long time past yt he has hardly been able to get enough for him to pay his household expenses, but notwithstanding that, I am in hopes of getting a pretty round sum for the Prince in this country and there is about 1700 pounds of cess due ye Prince from Aberdeenshire, a good part of which they refused to pay to the Elector of Hanover's people at last collection and have kept it up on purpose for the Prince's use, which your Grace will allow is a good sign of loyalty of ye Shire—I propose setting up ye Standard next Thursday here,[1] and I am pretty well assured of having 200 stout fellows with me against that time. I propose going to Banff tomorrow to proclaime the King there, which has been neglected before my coming hither. On Friday I go for Aberdeen and with God's assistance I hope to give a Faithfull account of all my Commissions.

Your Grace will be so good as not to mention Mr. Gordon's being with me on these affairs, as he does not care to meddle in a public way. . . .

I am with true respect, my dear Lord, yr Grace's most unalterable friend.

LEWIS GORDON."

Mr. John Gordon, the chief Commissioner of the Duke of Gordon referred to above, is known to have been in prison in Inverness, "on suspicion," after Culloden, but was apparently released, probably by the Duke's influence.[2]

The post of Lord Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire had been originally intended for Thomas Erskine of Pittodrie, Moir of Stoneywood's uncle. Erskine declined to take an active part, as he had also done in 1715, offering ingenious excuses! He wrote to Stoneywood in November 1745 saying that he had been asked to come to Aberdeen by Moir of Lonmay and that he had agreed to do so. But having apparently thought the matter over, decided not to come to town after all for he

[1] Strathbogie, that is the modern town of Huntly.

[2] See page 249.

writes:—"I begine to think it is to propose my takeing some employment in manageing the town or shire," and he determined to take no share in the Rising. He describes himself as "a weel-wisher," who cannot take up arms on account of "broken constetutine" and the fatigue of the campaign, which would probably kill him! As to raising men he sees many difficulties and that force will have to be used to bring them out. In this matter he thinks he is worse off than most of his neighbours. "I have more widow wimen that hase tacks in my intrest then in severale perishes round me; and if I should, or any els, force out the men that holds ther pleughs, the tack must ly unlaboured, and I fancie yow will easelie belive I cannot support my famelie without rent." He concludes:—"But I shall be weel pleased to scrimpe my self to give monie to raise my proportione of men volunteers, (and forsed men will be of no use)."

William Moir of Lonmay was made Deputy-Governor of Aberdeen, and William Baird of Auchmedden Deputy-Governor of Banffshire. Of Baird a contemporary account states:—"This gentleman had shown his affection to the cause so far as to wait for the Young Pretender at Edinburgh with his white cockade, but it seems was not so far military disposed as to think of marching with them into England, but having a considerable estate in Banffshire, they (the Jacobites) thought he might be of service to them in this sphere, but though he at first accepted of this commission, yet he seldom if ever acted in consequence of it, and very rarely made any public appearance."

In October Lord Lewis Gordon was with the Prince in Edinburgh, but towards the end of the month he went north again to raise men in the two counties and especially, if possible, among his brother's tenants. Having with great difficulty collected a few, he then found it necessary to resort to strong measures,

quartering his troops on the small farmers in and around Strathbogie, till they rose or furnished men according to the terms laid down. He not only collected the cess, or land tax, in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, but also demanded levy money at the heavy rate of £5 stg. on every £100 Scots of valued rent[1]—in lieu of a soldier.

Gordon of Avochie and Farquharson of Monaltrie, assisted by Anne Farquharson (wife of "the Mackintosh") raised men in Braemar and other districts of Aberdeenshire.

In October, Ludovick Grant of Grant sent a party of 30 men to Banffshire with the object, as he quaintly says in a letter to Lord Loudoun, "to give some interruption to one Captain Gordon, who is uplifting the Cess of a part of my estate in Banffshire. He is to be at Mulben tomorrow, which place is within two miles of Gordon Castle. I hope, if my people meet with him, I will have the Captain and his party brought to this place. His arms will be of service to us and it may deter others from disturbing that part of the country."

In November, Lord Lewis Gordon appears to have been at St. Bridget (the home of Gordon of Glenbucket), as on the 3rd of that month he wrote from there the following curious letter to Ludovick Grant:—

"I take this opportunity to assure you of the esteem and regard I have for yourself and all your family and that I shall be always glad to do all in my power to maintain the good correspondence that has so long subsisted between the families of Grant and Gordon. As you are very sensible of the situation of Scotland at present, I shall take this occasion of delivering to you the Prince Regent's complements and how much he would be obliged to you for your aid at this important time; and if you don't appear active yourself, that you would not oppose the rising of your clan, which is so capable of serving the King and Country. I hope you will be so

[1] £5 in every £8 6s. 8d.

good as to consider this seriously and to excuse this liberty from a friend who does it with a pure intention of serving his country. I begg my compliements to Lady Margaret and all your family, as also to Lord and Lady Findlater and Lord Deskfoord, to whom please tell that what I am to do for the Prince's cause in Banffshire, shall be executed in the mildest and easiest manner in my power. Glenbucket will deliver this to you and believe me to be, Dr. Sir, with great sincerity, your most affectionate ffriend and servant,

LEWIS GORDON."

But Ludovick Grant was not to be induced by any such specious offers of friendship to raise his clan for the Prince, and, like Lord Findlater, maintained his allegiance to the reigning dynasty, though grave reflections were cast upon him as to his dilatory methods of showing which side he supported; and after Culloden he prepared a long defence of his conduct. That Lord Lewis had great affection for the town of Aberdeen is shown by a letter from Huntly Castle, 7th November, 1745, to Moir of Stoneywood, in which he says:—"I am very happy to think of seeing Aberdeen, I am personally obliged to many there."

Towards the end of November Ludovick Grant informed Lord Loudoun of the great ravages the Jacobites had committed in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, and suggested that it was of the utmost importance to relieve those counties. He added that he had received repeated advices from Banffshire of the oppressive demands for men and money made on the people of the county and threats of military execution in case of refusal; and that the 10th December was the day fixed for the beginning of such military execution at Keith.

Many rumours, true and false, were current at this time, as is shown in a letter written by Arthur Gordon of Wardhouse to Andrew Hay of Mountblairy. It is dated "Gordon Hall" (the old name for Wardhouse), 26th

November, 1745:—"I understand by private letters from Aberdeen that Carlisle is in the highland army's possession where they got plenty of arms etc. It is said Lord M——ll[1] has hoisted his flag as high Admiral aboard a ship at Dunkirk. You have noe doubt heard of the march of 800 ffrasers.—Poor Lord Cromarty had had ane ill post of it in Corryarack all this bad weather. The MacIntoshes, Balmerino etc. are yet at Pearth."

MEANWHILE Lord Lewis continued to levy cess and was particularly active in Banffshire. Apparently he had considerable anxiety as to getting the money, but, in a letter to Moir of Stoneywood, he adds hopefully that "Meldrum has promised and Captain Urquhart performed."[2]

The following letter, an example of Lord Lewis' difficulties, is addressed to "Harry Milne, Factor to the Laird of Drummuir, at the Milne of Towie":—

"6th December, 1745.

Sir,

As Lord Lieut. of the Counties of Banff and Aberdeen, I am to raise a man upon each hundred pound of valued rent within the same, and where a fraction happens, the same must yield a man. As Mr. Duff of Drummuir is forth of the country, I desire you, as his factor, will send to Keith, Tuesday next, such a number of sufficient able-bodied men as will answer to the valuation of his estates in the parishes of Bottraiphny:

[1]Earl Marischal.

[2]William Urquhart of Meldrum and Captain John Urquhart of Craigston and Cromarty.

and in like manner to Huntly the said day, able-bodied men answerable to his estate in the parish of Drumblade. All men are to be well cloathed, with short cloathes, plaid, new shoes, and three pair of hose and accoutred with shoulder ball gun, pistolls and sword. I have appointed proper officers at both places for receiving the men. I peremptorily expect your complyance, otherwise you may rely upon all manner of military execution being forthwith used against you, the factor, and the estate under your management, which I hope your prudence will direct you to avoid, both upon your own and constituents account—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

LEWIS GORDON."

This was followed by another letter to Harry Milne from Gordon of Avochie, written four days later, from Keith, to the effect that no men had yet appeared from the Drummuir lands of Dumuie,[1] and threatening severe measures if such were not immediately forthcoming. Avochie states that he had hitherto restrained any parties being sent to these lands, "but longer it will not be in my power, so for God's sake prevent any hard things happening to the poor people in their master's absence." No answer appears to have been returned to this, for Gordon writes again on 27th December,—this time it is addressed to "Adam Maitland, Tomeston"—to the effect that no men have appeared from the lands of Dumuie, and though the writer is "loathe to do harsh things," yet if Adam Maitland does "not satisfye this night" 40 armed men will "tomorrow use you with all military execution. So prevent it if you be wise," and the letter concludes abruptly, "Pay the bearer."

The Rev. John Bisset in his Diary, referring to the raising of recruits in Aberdeen, says "they come little speed," and Lord Lewis Gordon wrote from Fyvie to

[1] A *certain* number of men from this district appear in Rosebery's List.

Stoneywood on 10th December; "We have been obliged to use great threatnings, although no reall hardships been used; and take my word for it, that, in the lasy way the country is in, together with the unnatural methods the ministers and other disafected people make use of to restrain the people from doing their duty, there is no raising the quotas of men in the county without seeming violence. Therefore as you have a very strong party in Aberdeen, I earnestly recommend to you to levy the men in the shire as fast as possible."

It has already been shown, in the information supplied to Lord Loudoun, that military executions would be undertaken against defaulters at Keith on the 10th December. Apparently this threat was not actually carried out. In a letter written on 11th December to Ludovick Grant from Arndilly by Thomas Grant of Achoynany, he says that Lord Lewis' men then only amounted to about 300, of which 100 were to be accoutred by the tenants in the neighbourhood, and that many of them were not enthusiastic, being pressed and "want but an excuse to get away." He describes them as being "mostly herds and hiremen in and about Strathbogey," who did not know the use of arms and he thinks that 100 Grants would be sufficient "to drive them to the devil," and make Lord Lewis and Gordon of Avochie prisoners. Regarding the military executions threatened at Keith, Grant says that Gordon of Avochie "came to Keith yesternight" with 60 of his men and was causing much trouble to the inhabitants, and especially to the tenants of Lord Findlater. One of the latter informed Thomas Grant that "he saw a greate many of them (the tenants) this day, greeting and wringing their hands, and praying and wishing they were your (Ludovick Grant's) men, and if you would send down 100 men, they would all join and rather die than be used in the way they are." Grant of Achoynany also writes that he is "assured by

Cantly[1] that the people of Keith and Grange parish are content" and are ready to support any number of men that Ludovick Grant should send to Keith, and that they regarded Ludovick Grant as "the only saviour they look for this side of time." Thomas Grant concludes by urging Ludovick Grant to come to Keith with as many men as possible, when he would be joined by people from the district. "It is really serving the Government as well as your friends, and will be taken notice of by the Government, and if Lord Loudon would march a Company and take possession of the Old Castle of Balveny,[2] which is a strong house with an Iron Gate, it would spoil Lord Lewis's recruiting."

Thomas Grant had received a letter from Lord Lewis Gordon couched in much the same terms as that to Harry Milne. Letters of this description were probably sent to all the lairds and factors in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire who were not favourable to the Jacobite cause, and when no answer was returned measures were taken wherever possible to enforce the demands; but having only a small force under his command Lord Lewis Gordon could not "quarter extensively," so he adopted the more drastic method of threatening to burn the houses and farmyards of those who refused to join him. The following is what John Marchant in his "History of the Present Rebellion" (1746) calls the "very barbarous order issued by the Governor of the Pretender in the

[1]Alexander Cantley, butler to Thomas Grant of Achoynany, is worthy of note as being one of the earliest who took an interest in James Ferguson, the Astronomer. The latter lodged in Cantley's house for some time, and, at Thomas Grant's special request, Cantley, who was clever at mathematics, music and languages and was even something of a doctor, taught young Ferguson for some months. In his autobiography Ferguson says that Cantley might have been called "God Almighty's scholar."

[2]The old Castle of Balvenie had been uninhabited since 1718, but in the troubles of 1689 and 1715 had been a useful fort. It is now, unfortunately, a complete ruin, though the remarkable iron gate still remains.

shires of Aberdeen and Banff: for the carrying of which into execution, we are assured parties were actually sent through that country, which are two of the counties disarmed by law, and unprovided with arms, or any legal authority to use them."

Order of the Rt. Hon. the Ld. Lewis Gordon, Lord-Lieutenant of the Counties, and Governor of the towns of Aberdeen and Banff.

"Whereas as I desired and ordered J. Moir of Stonnywood to intimate to all the gentlemen and their doers, within the said counties of Aberdeen and Banff, to send into the town of Aberdeen, a well-bodied man for each 100 £. Scots, their valued rent, sufficiently cloathed, and in consequence of my order he wrote circular letters to all heritors in the above counties, desiring them to do so; which desire they have not complied with; Therefore I order and command you, to take a sufficient party of my men, and go to all the lands within the above counties, and require from the heritors, factors, or tenants, as you shall think most proper, an able-bodied man for his M—— K—— J——'s service, with sufficient Highland cloaths, plaid and arms, for each 100 £. of their valued rent, or the sum of 5£. sterl. money for each of the above men, to be paid to J. M. of Stonnywood, or his order of Aberdeen: and in case of refusal of the men or money, you are forthwith to burn all the houses, corn and planting upon the foresaid estates; and to begin with the heritor or factor residing on the lands; and not to leave the said lands until the above execution be done, unless they produce Stonnywood's lines, shewing they have delivered him the men or the money. Given at Aberdeen this 12th day of December, 1745.

Subscrib'd LEWIS GORDON."

This order, if it was really carried out at all fully (which there is good reason to doubt), must have produced great misery in the two counties. A contemporary account states that "this soon had the desired effect, for the burning of a single house or farm-stack in

a parish terrified the whole, so that they would quickly send in their proportion, and by this means, with the few that joined as volunteers, he (Lord Lewis) raised nearly 300 men called the Strathboggy Battalion in the country thereabouts."

Lord Findlater had written to Lord Loudoun at Inverness, and, in his absence, to Lord President Forbes of Culloden, begging for relief and assistance against Lord Lewis and Gordon of Avochie, but no answer having come from either, Ludovick Grant collected about 500 men and marched from Castle Grant on 13th December. Of this step he informed Lord Loudoun by letter:—"Late last night I received an express from Grant of Achoynany informing me that the violence and plunderings is [*sic*] begun, which I can no longer stand. For which reason I have five or six hundred of my men together. I am just now in my boots, and design to be at Keith tomorrow and shall endeavour wherever Lord Lewis's party are recruiting and oppressing that country to come up with them. I shall endeavour to get some of the rebells arms to supply some of our peoples. I shall continue there with a force sufficient to keep the peace of the country until I have your Lop's. further directions." Grant had been at last roused into activity on learning that Lord Lewis was interfering with some of his *own* tenants! The weather seems to have delayed his advance, for by midday on Saturday, 14th December, he had only got to Auchlunkart, about four miles from Keith, where he was informed that the Jacobites, hearing of his advance, had left Keith and gone to Fochabers. He remained for the night at Mulben and marched next day to Fochabers, but when he came within two miles of that place intelligence reached him that the Jacobites had evacuated it and gone through the Enzie district. Fearing that they might go to Cullen to attack the house of Lord Findlater (who was

absent, at Castle Grant) Ludovick Grant sent a party to take possession of Cullen House, as well as of the town, and so prevented some Jacobites, who had been sent there, from accomplishing their purpose. That night Grant returned to Mulben, and the next day (16th December) he marched to Keith. After quartering his men and placing an advanced guard some miles out on the road to Huntly, where he was informed that the main body of the Jacobites then lay, he returned to Cullen to make preparations for the reception of the force marching to relieve Aberdeen. This force, under the command of MacLeod[1] and Munro of Culcairn,[2] had set out from Inverness and was then advancing to the Spey.

On 17th December Ludovick Grant returned to Keith, where he received a letter from Lord Lewis Gordon, with a Declaration by Lord John Drummond and a printed letter signed "Marshall." Lord John on 22nd November landed at Montrose with a force of 800 men composed of his own (French) regiment of Royal Scots and a picquet of 50 men from each of the six Irish regiments under Brigadier Stapleton.

[1]Norman MacLeod of MacLeod, 19th Chief, born 1706, died 1772, had promised to join Prince Charles "even if he came to Scotland alone," but he refused to keep his word, and was the first to inform the Lord President that the Prince had actually landed. He remained his foe throughout the campaign, though some authorities say that he and Munro of Culcairn were somewhat half-hearted in their opposition.

[2]George Munro of Culcairn, Ross-shire, born 1685, younger brother of Sir Robert Munro of Foulis. George Munro was shot in Knoydart in August, 1746, while searching for the Prince and laying waste the country with Captain Grant of Knockando. It is supposed that he was shot by mistake instead of Grant by the father of one Alexander Cameron, whom Grant had shot a short time earlier. An interesting detail in connection with the shooting of Munro is that one of Albemarle's anonymous informers, writing about the event, states that Munro's party, which was hunting for the Prince, was at that moment within 5 minutes of him, and had it not delayed to search for Munro's murderer, must infallibly have "come up" with its more important quarry. (P.R.O.) According, however, to Dr. Blaikie's most accurate account of the Prince's movements, he was on 22nd August, 1746, nearing Cluny's cage on Ben Alder!

Lord John Drummond's Declaration stated that as "Commander-in-Chief of his most Christian Majesty's[1] Forces in Scotland," he had come to Scotland with written orders "to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and all his adherents," and that he was commanded to attack all those who would not support "the Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, his Ally," further adding that "his most Christian Majesty's positive orders are, that his ennemys should be used in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do, or intend to his Royal Highness' cause." The Declaration was dated at Montrose, 2nd December, 1745, and is signed John Drummond.

The printed letter purporting to be from the Earl Marischal to Lord John Drummond, dated Paris, 1st November, 1745, is as follows:—

"My Lord—

As I am now obliged to attend the Duke of York to England with a body of French Troops, I desire that you will be so good as to see if possible, or send word to the people that depend on me or have any regard for me in Aberdeenshire, or the Mearns, that are not with the Prince, that I expect they will immediately rise in arms, and make the best figure they can in this affair, which cannot now fail to succeed, and that they will take from you, my Cousin German, directions as to the manner they are to behave on this occasion.

I am sorry that just now it is not in my power to head them myself; but as soon as this affair will be over, I intend to go down to my native country, and they may depend of my being always ready to do them what service will lye in my power.

MARSHALL [*sic*]!

Directed to Lord John Drummond, Brigadier of the King's Army and Colonel of the Royal Scots at Dunkirk."

[1]Louis XV.

Considerable doubts were *at once* expressed as to the authenticity of this document. It was even asserted that Lord John Drummond and his brother, Lord Lewis, met Lord Lewis Gordon at Aberdeen and decided to forge a letter from the Earl Marischal! Suspicion of its genuineness was increased when it was discovered that it had been altered while printing, and many people were of the opinion that the style of composition was not at all like that of the Earl Marischal. After Culloden, it was entirely repudiated by a Mr. Haliburton, who said that he had come over from France on behalf of the Earl Marischal to warn the Earl's friends not to be influenced by it.[1]

The letter from Lord Lewis Gordon to Ludovick Grant was dated Fyvie, 16th December, 1745:—

"Sir,

I was a little surprised this morning to hear that you had marched a body of your men to the Low country so far as Mulben. Your reason for such proceedings I cannot find out, as you have not got the least disturbance from the Prince or any of his friends, since his Royal Highness's arrival in Scotland, and for my part I have not given you the least disturbance, since my coming to the North. So far from it that I had given positive orders to the Gentlemen employed by me to raise the Levies, not to meddle with any of your estate, no not so much as to raise a man from a little place called Delnaboe, which holds of the Duke of Gordon, to the men of which last place I had a natural title. I now desire to know if you are to take any concern in protecting the estates of any but your own. If that is the case, I must take my measures accordingly, and as the consequence must be fatal, you have none to blame but yourself. I am this minute writing to Lord John Drummond, that he may march his troops directly to this country to join the men I have already raised; but if you withdraw your men, and give no further disturbance, it

[1]See page 16.

may move me to alter my resolution with respect to you. I wrote you a letter from Strathdoune, but was not favoured with any return; but must insist on an answer to this in writing, or by some gentleman of character. Offering my compliments to Lady Margaret and your young Family—I am, with much respect, Sir,

LEWIS GORDON."

To this letter Grant returned a verbal message to the effect that if Lord Lewis would be at Strathbogie next day at 12 o'clock, he would there receive his answer. On 18th December Grant with his men marched to Strathbogie, the Jacobites departing on his approach.

Meanwhile MacLeod's and Culcairn's force, in their advance from Inverness, had reached the Spey, where Gordon of Avochie and Gordon of Aberlour attempted to oppose their crossing. The two latter, with their men, had been quartering for cess and levy money about Banff, but their opposition to MacLeod was not very strong and they fell back towards Aberdeen. Having successfully crossed the Spey, MacLeod ordered Munro to join Grant at Keith and then to advance by Strathbogie and Kintore to Inverurie, whilst MacLeod himself was to march by Banff, Turriff and Old Meldrum—all to unite at Inverurie.

Instead of advancing, Grant returned, as will be seen, from Strathbogie to Keith. Here he received letters from Lord Deskford and Lord Loudoun, which were of a rather crushing nature. Though both the writers applauded Grant's zeal, yet they gave him a distinct hint that he had acted without orders; that no Government pay could be given to his men nor arms provided for their use, that the Government troops in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire were sufficient for the occasion, and that, as Grant's men were not well armed, it was suggested that they should be taken back to Strathspey. Lord Loudoun went so far as to say that as Grant's action was

undertaken without his commands, he did not *order* him back to Strathspey, but he none the less hoped he would return there. Grant, taking this for a rebuke, at once returned, leaving only a party of 60 men at his house in Mulben, which party was of the greatest use after MacLeod's defeat by Lord Lewis Gordon at Inverurie, as it secured the boats on the Spey and thereby enabled MacLeod's troops to make good their retreat to Elgin. After this date Ludovick Grant almost entirely drops out of the scene of action in Banffshire.

The Rev. John Bisset who had, of course, a strong Government bias, writes in his Diary on 3rd October 1745:—"All the men that have yet gone from the shires of Bamf, Aberdeen and Merns, by the best information I can have, come not as yet up to six hundred; but the Lord can do his work, whether in a way of mercy or judgment, by most unlikely means." Later in the month he says that "the very mob in London are high against the Pretender, and a Scotchman is lookt ill on, because of our rebellion, and no wonder." On 24th October, regarding the Jacobite recruiting in Aberdeen, he writes:—"I am ravished to hear that when the drum beats, not a few of the boys cry 'God save King George.' I love an early seasoning against the spirit of Jacobitism." On 26th November he reports that "a French ship with 40 men and baggage for more has arrived in Aberdeen harbour; that two transports from France are to unload with more men at Peterhead, and that a ship has arrived at Montrose having on board Lord John Drummond." The next day he says that 300 Frenchmen are landed at Peterhead, and on 2nd December that a sloop arrived at Aberdeen with more arms and 100 of the French soldiers from Peterhead had

reached the city but went south the next day, and that a few days later Lord John Drummond had also gone to join Prince Charles. Then, on 18th December, he endeavours to raise his own spirits by saying that Lord Loudoun is expected shortly in Aberdeen, and two days later states joyfully that the Jacobites, while ordering parties for the collection of the cess, were much upset by the news that Loudoun and several hundreds of his men were so near as Old Meldrum and Inverurie. This proved to be a false report! He records that the bells were rung in honour of Prince Charles' birthday on 20th December—Old Style. On 23rd December, he reports that the Jacobites marched out of Aberdeen, leaving only about 50 men to hold the city. Then he hears a rumour that there has been a battle at Inverurie and "that Lowdon's men being only 600 or 700, were all excepting 6 or 7, killed or taken prisoners," and adds quaintly:—"I hear it said that not a few men from this followed the rebels on Sabbath to Bucksburn, as on-lookers, but had arms under their coats." What really happened was as follows.

The actions of those parties of Jacobites who were quartering for levy money had now become extremely drastic, and their threats more alarming. The "Memoirs of the Rebellion in Aberdeen and Banff," so often quoted, says:—

"The friends of the Government, seeing no end of this oppression while the Rebels were their Masters, sent several Messages to the President and Lord Loudoun to send some men to their relief. They were especially instant from the town of Aberdeen, this being the seat of the Rebel government and consequently most exposed to their tyranny, which was so great that the usual freedom of conversation was entirely banished."

The constant complaints of the Whigs of Aberdeen as to their unprotected state brought the following reply:—

From the Lord President to James Morison, late Provost.

"Culloden, 17th December, 1745.

Your letters of the 14th were delivered to the E. of Loudoun and me at this place. The calamitous condition of your City and its neighbourhood has been for some time known to us, as you will easily guess before this comes to your hands; because you must be informed that a considerable body of his Majesties forces are by this time advanced as far as Banff for your relief; orders are sent them to proceed without loss of time to Aberdeen, where it is our hope they will arrive in time enough to prevent the execution of the foolish threats made by those who must know that their utter destruction is near if they presume to put in practice their severe menaces, with which they hope to intimidate weak minds.

. . . The Laird of MacLeod goes a volunteer at the head of a considerable body of his own kindred, to deliver you from harm."[1]

Hearing that help was coming a number of prominent citizens of Aberdeen refused to pay the money demanded by the Jacobite leaders, and left the town to avoid trouble. Though the forces sent from the north did not, as will be seen, relieve Aberdeen, yet bad news from the south curbed the self-confidence of the Jacobites, and the town was not destroyed by fire and sword as threatened.

The accident of Lord Lovat's escape from the house in which he was supposed to be detained under Lord Loudoun's eye[2] (and before his clan had delivered up their arms), prevented Lord Loudoun from sending any

[1]There were 500 MacLeods, and another party of men under Captain Munro of Culcairn was, as has been seen, to meet them en route, proceed to relieve the city of Aberdeen and demolish the forces of Lord Lewis Gordon.

[2]Lord Loudoun had induced Lord Lovat to come in from Castle Downie and live in Inverness as a hostage, but "the old fox" remained only a few days. See page 336.

men from his own force at Inverness, but Ludovick Grant, as already stated, with 500 of his clan, joined Munro and proposed to effect a junction with MacLeod and take part in the punitive expedition to Aberdeen. Hearing of the great strength of the Highlanders in the County of Banff behind him and fearing for his own Strathspey estates, Ludovick decided to return home. He wrote a letter to this effect to the Laird of MacLeod, and sent it by a messenger, James Paterson, carrier in Banff. This man was set upon on his journey by Alexander Gatt, a servant to Gordon of Carnousie (accompanied by James Maver, son to an Innkeeper in Turriff, and two others); the letter was taken from Paterson and James Maver, a mere boy, "ran express" with it to Lord Lewis Gordon in Aberdeen.

After Culloden, James Maver was taken up and imprisoned on the above charge, and there are several petitions from his father setting forth the Whig principles of the family and previous good conduct of young James, but not denying the fact above narrated.

That Paterson was not altogether unwilling that the contents of the letter should be known to the Prince's supporters appears from the two following papers—curiously enough, still preserved at the Record Office:—

"At Banff the 8th day of October 1746 in presence of James Innes Esq. Provost of the Borough, Compeared Robert Reid, Gairdner in Banff, and made oath that sometime in the month of Jan. last he having received a letter from Lord Braco to send his Ldp some grafts for fruit trees, and as he was reading the same in the street of Banff, James Paterson, late hyrer there, now in London, happened to pass by and in the passing asked the said Robert Reid what 'Whigg news' was that he was reading. To which he answered 'It was news that he, the said James Paterson, was to be hanged for selling McLeod's letter.' To which the said James Paterson replied to him and said, 'Sir, I would sell you

(meaning the declarant) as well as McLeod's letter,' if he could get money for so doing, and this he declared to be the truth. ROBERT REID."

One, Robert George, gave evidence that he heard the conversation above reported, but nothing further seems to have occurred.

"At Hatton of Auchterless in the County of Aberdeen, the 13th day of October, 1746, before Alex. Duff of Hatton J.P. in the said county, compeired William Horn and Alex. Adam of Kirktoun of Inverkeithny and judicially declared—That about the 20th day of December last, James Patterson, carrier for Banff, called at the Kirktoun of Inverkeithny and got provision for his horse and himself in the house of William Horn, and during the time he was there, the said Patterson told both the declarants that the Laird of Grant and his clan under his command had marched from Huntly homeward, and for confirming his news, he took out of his pockett two letters from the Laird of Grant as he said, direct to the Laird of McLeod and Culcairn and shewed the direction on the backs of said two letters, in presence of Alex. Cruikshank senior, James Cruikshank in Woodend and others, and this we declare to be truth.

WILLIAM HORNE.
x A A."[1]

In any case the letter reached Lord Lewis Gordon (instead of the man to whom it was addressed) and encouraged him to march out of Aberdeen northward.

Gordon of Avochie and Gordon of Aberlour having been unsuccessful in stopping the passage of the MacLeods at the Spey, marched for Aberdeen on 17th December (the day appointed by the Government for a solemn public fast), and sent messages also to concentrate the Jacobite forces from Deeside and Kincardine on the city.

[1]Alexander Adam's mark.'

The MacLeods and Munroes made their rendezvous, as arranged, at Inverurie (their number when united being something over 700) and lay there, partly in the town and partly in farm houses round about, on the night of Saturday, 21st December. This scattering of the little army seems to have been quite unnecessary, and was the cause of their undoing, as the men could not be got together in time of surprise.

MacLeod was the superior officer, but was nothing of a soldier, and Munro of Culcairn, who assumed the direction of the joint force, refused to allow any scouting parties to go out either to gather intelligence or to drive off enemy scouts. The Jacobite leaders, especially Moir of Stoneywood, who knew the country so well, had possession of all the approaches to Aberdeen and made good use of them.

The MacLeods and Munroes were in Inverurie all Sunday, which gave opportunity for a Jacobite MacLeod to venture among them and endeavour to win some others of his name to the Prince's cause.

Early on Monday, 23rd December, Lord Lewis, having received intelligence (by means of the intercepted letter) that Ludovick Grant and his 500 men had gone home from Strathbogie, marched out from Aberdeen full of confidence. He had with him 900 men, some of the newly arrived French picquets and an experienced officer of Lord John Drummond's Royal Scots, Lancelot Cuthbert,[1] brother to the Laird of Castlehill, Inverness.

Lord Lewis's own column crossed the Bridge of Don and marched up the east or left bank of the river to Inverurie. The second column, under Gordon of Avochie, marched on the right bank of the Don, which it did not cross until within sight of Inverurie.

[1]Cuthbert or Colbert, as he often called himself, was taken prisoner after Culloden and sent to London, but was eventually exchanged, returned to France, and, later, commanded his regiment.

MacLeod, therefore, really occupied a very strong position, commanding both the ford of the Ury, which had to be crossed by Lord Lewis's column, and that of the Don, which was forded by Avochie's men, but from want of proper intelligence as to the numbers of the enemy, and from fatal irresolution, MacLeod's men waited until attacked by both parties at once and were routed and driven through the town of Inverurie and completely off the field of action, leaving a number of prisoners in the Jacobites' hands, including McCrimmon, MacLeod's own piper. It is curious to note that in the one battle where the undisciplined Highlanders were alone fighting on the Government side, they were completely routed by the Lowland levies under the Jacobite leaders. Numbers of Highlanders, from their scattered billets, only reached the scene in time to retreat.

The fight lasted under an hour, but, as it was begun after sun-down on the brief December day, was finished by moonlight. The nett result was that MacLeod and his Highlanders retreated rapidly through Strathbogie and back across the Spey to Inverness, and the town of Aberdeen was compelled to pay the £500 of levy money demanded by Lord Lewis.[1] It was at first rumoured that MacLeod himself had been killed, but he escaped and lived for many years after. It is recorded that about seven years later, he was passing through Huntly on his way south during a snowstorm and asked the innkeeper to provide a guide to Inverurie. This man, one John Mellis, well known for his attachment to the Stuarts, answered in his own dry way:—"I

[1]Thomas Grant, writing on 25th December to his master, Ludovick Grant, says, "The rebells are returned to Aberdeen and carried with them seventy prisoners. I do not know the number slain, but that the rebells had most men killed, particularly a captain whom they regrated much. Aberlour, Abachie, Da. Tulloch and a fourth officer came yesternight to Strathbogie, and Lord Lewis, with 700 men came this day. I find if the McLeods and Monros had had broadswords, the affair would not have been as it is."

think I recollect a gentleman of your name and appearance once coming through Huntly from Inverurie *without* a guide!"

Lord Lewis, the victor, received the following delightful letter from the Duke of Perth, written from Drummond Castle on 30th December:—

"My Lord,

His Royal Highness ordered me to write to your Lordship, to congratulate your lordship upon the glorious success of your late engagement with his enemys, and is very glad to see you renew the memory of the honorable actions done by the worthy family you are come off. He also desired me to tell you that, as he was come back to Scotland, and was going to undertake the seiges of Sterling and Edinburgh Castles, and heard by several reports that some of the English forces would come down to hinder him from taking them, he desired your lordship would come with all convenient speed to join him, as well as all the forces that are in the north of Scotland, and sent me here to forward the junction. As for my own particular, I do assure your lordship that it was with the utmost satisfaction I heard the news of your success, but was not at all surprised that you should have done such a glorious action, because I never expected less from Lewis Gordon, Cock of the North. I shall be very glad how soon I have the pleasure of congratulating you by word of mouth, and am, in the meantime, with the most sincere regard, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate cousin[1]
and most obedient humble Servant,
PERTH."

The fight at Inverurie is always described in Government accounts as a "skirmish," and the loss of life was not great on either side, but its effects were far-reaching, and when the news reached the Prince it helped to console him somewhat for the loss of Carlisle on 30th

[1]The Duke of Perth's mother was Lady Jean Gordon, daughter of the 1st Duke of Gordon, so they were 1st cousins

December. This event must be briefly alluded to here, if only to contradict the oft-repeated story that Prince Charles garrisoned Carlisle almost entirely with the English of the Manchester Regiment, because he was so disgusted at the scant support he had received in England.

The names of the entire garrison who surrendered (and it must be remembered that only *one* man was killed) can still be read in the State Papers. Out of less than 400 all told, 256 were Scots, and of these over 80, or about one-third, came from Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. The English *soldiers* numbered 92. Of the officers sent to London under escort, there were 19 English, 19 Scots, 12 of whom were from our two counties and 7 Frenchmen. The 12 officers are treated of separately under their own names, 6 of them were executed and 9 of the English.

One Scots officer (Robert Forbes) was acquitted, the rest reprieved or were transported, with the exception of John Burnet, who was eventually pardoned.

A curious aftermath of the battle of Inverurie is the complaint of some gentlemen volunteers with MacLeod, who were taken prisoners. They had been on a visit to President Forbes in Inverness, and among them were Mr. Forbes of Echt, Mr. Logie, a merchant, and Mr. Thomson, a Supervisor of Excise.

At Inverurie they had been joined by a few friends who had managed to get out of Aberdeen before the Jacobites stopped all the roads. Among these were Mr. Charles Maitland of Pitrichie,[1] Mr. Forbes of Schivas, Principal Chalmers and Mr. Gordon, Professor of

[1]The Hon. Alexander Arbuthnott, 3rd son of the second Viscount Arbuthnott, one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland in 1707, married Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Maitland, Bart., and heiress to her brother, Sir Charles Maitland of Pitrichie. On succeeding to the Maitland estates, Alexander Arbuthnott assumed the name and became Maitland of Pitrichie, Aberdeenshire. He died in 1746. Charles Maitland above was his eldest son.

Humanity, and some students of Divinity and Philosophy. Many, though not all, of these were taken prisoners.

Principal Chalmers and Charles Maitland had nothing but good to say of their captors, and long afterwards gave evidence in favour of James Farquharson of Balmoral and Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie, because of the kind treatment they had received from both these leaders who were in charge of prisoners, but Mr. Forbes of Echt cherished grievances both against the Jacobites and the Government. He presented a petition, setting forth that he had formerly possessed a considerable estate in Aberdeenshire, which had been in his family for some centuries. This "by the expense he was put to in Active support of his Majesty's Government in the years 1715 and 1716 when there was an attempt to overturn the present happy establishment, joyned to a considerable loss he sustained in the South Sea," he had been obliged to sell. That he had been taken prisoner by the Rebels in 1715 and was detained for a month. Again, in November, 1745, when he had gone to Inverness with information for the Lord President and was returning with despatches, he had been captured and detained.

Thirdly, he "joyned the Laird of MacLeod at Inverury and was made prisoner by the Rebels at that place upon the 23rd of December and was carry'd about with them for many weeks, being carried from thence to Stirling, where he lay in Jayl till the rebels made a retreat, and then he was carry'd with them to Badenoch; as the weather was extremely bad and he was obliged to walk on foot for the greatest part of the way and at Night was obliged to lie in cold prisons, Churches, barns, etc. he suffered very much in his health, and when he made his escape, was obliged to wander all night in the hills. He remained prisoner till the 9th February. He was at this time a Man upwards of 60 years of age."

In consideration of all his sufferings in the Government cause, he asks for "an appointment that shall provide him with £100 a year out of some sure fund." It is not known whether he received it.

DURING the time that the Highland Army was advancing into England and retreating again (all of which is beyond our province), Aberdeenshire and Banffshire were given over to small bands of the Prince's followers who went about the country preventing the return of half-hearted Jacobites and raising men and money by all methods. There were no Government forces left in these counties, and at this period it appeared as if, locally, the Jacobite cause would certainly triumph.[1] An extract from the Kirk Session Records of the Presbytery of Fordyce in 1745 states that "the Synod have appointed presbyteries to correspond with one another during these public disturbances occasioned by a horrid rebellion, fermented and carried on by the abettors of the Young Pretender," and again, 15th January, 1746, there is a note from the same source:—"the post road from Fordyce has for some time been infested by the rebels."

After the victory of Falkirk there was a set-back to the triumphs of the Highland army. The siege of Stirling Castle proving unsuccessful and the Jacobite forces being unfit to face the greatly reinforced Government army, it was resolved to retreat to Inverness. This march began on 1st February 1746 and Crieff was reached on the first day. On 2nd February, Prince Charles reviewed his army, which then amounted to about 5,000 men, and a definite plan of retirement was

[1]On 16th January, 1746, Ludovick Grant wrote to his father in London:—"The rebells are in full possession of all Banff and Aberdeen shires and all the coast and even the whole countrie almost to Stirling."

drawn up. As Cumberland had reached Stirling on the same day no time was to be lost. It was decided that the Highland Army should divide into three columns. The first, under Prince Charles with the clans, went by the Highland road to Inverness. Their route lay by Aberfeldy, Blair-Atholl, Kingussie, Aviemore and Moy. This detachment reached Inverness on 18th February. The second column, consisting of Lord Ogilvie's regiment and the Farquharsons, took a middle course by Perth, Coupar-Angus, Glamis, Cortachy, Glen Clova and Glen Muick to Ballater, thence by Tarland, Glenkindie, Kildrummy, Lumsden and Rhynie to Huntly and so to Keith, which was reached on 17th February. The third column led by Lord George Murray and consisting of the Atholl Brigade, Lord Cromarty's, Lord Kilmarnock's, John Roy Stuart's, the Lifeguards and Hussars, Lord John Drummond with the French Brigade and the Lowland regiments, took the coast road from Perth by Dundee, Montrose, Stonehaven and Aberdeen. This division kept together till it reached Aberdeen, where the difficulties of obtaining supplies made the commanders decide to divide again and continue their march through Aberdeenshire and Banffshire to the Spey by different routes; one division going by Inverurie, Insch, Huntly and Keith, the other continuing round the coast by Ellon, Peterhead, Old Deer, New Pitsligo, Banff, Boyndie, Portsoy, Cullen, Rathven and the Enzie to Fochabers.[1] At this period many of the Aberdeenshire and Banffshire Jacobites were able to visit their friends and relations.

In the Buchan district they were everywhere hospitably entertained, and one amusing story is related. Some of the Hussars had ridden up to a farm to look for

[1]The second and third columns united at Fochabers, and there they spent most of March, as they proposed holding the line of Spey and preventing the Government troops from crossing that river.

provisions. Having taken the bits out of their horses mouths, they allowed them to feed from an adjacent hay-stack. The farmer had been warned of the approach of the Jacobites, and had concealed in this hay-stack a store of cheeses having made the stack appear as if it had not been disturbed. When the Hussars went to mount their horses they found that the animals had eaten so much hay that the cheeses were protruding in all directions. So the men appropriated these and rode off, well supplied and in the greatest good humour.

Some further extracts from Bisset's Diary throw light on this period and on the French reinforcements slowly arriving.

"*January 27, 1747.*

Upon Friday last, a French ship came in to Peterhead with money and arms, 3 or 4 French officers and some gentlemen, who talk of a great many transports, with men of war, being on the road. . . .

The above mentioned French Ship at Peterhead is now called a Spanish ship, and some say it is a smuggling vessel; a little time will explain this."

"*January 30.*

Nor doth this day furnish any noticeable story, unless it be that seventy casks, like twenty-pint fuces,[1] are brought in from the Peterhead ship, and as I hear was to be secured in the Tolbooth, said to be powder, but after all suspected to be run goods, though attended by a small guard of Highlanders, who possibly might be hired by the smugglers."

"*February 1.*

The ship come in at Peterhead came from the Groin in Spain more than three months ago, was detained at the Orknys by bad weather, came out with 3 more, 2 of which were taken by the English and one no account of, at least as yet."

[1]Bisset is here probably using the nearest equivalent to the French word "FUT," a barrel.

Early in February, 1746, five vessels with troops and ammunition set sail from France for the East Coast of Scotland, under the Comte de Fitzjames (brother of the Duke of Berwick and first cousin to Prince Charles). Fitzjames himself and two of the vessels, "La Bourbon" and "La Charité," with 359 men, were taken on 24th February; two vessels came into Aberdeen, and one, with a picquet of Berwick's regiment, landed safely at Portsoy. These men were among the French prisoners of war who surrendered after Culloden.

There is a Letter from Aberdeen (anonymous, but from one of the Government spies), dated

"Sunday, February 23, 9 at night.

Sir,

Please to know that a ship with French colors, said to be a 150 ton Burthen, came to the roads Friday last the 21 about six at night and fired two or three guns. The rebels sent out a boat to her and brought ashore two or three Officers and other boats were sent with intention to land the men, but it seems they changed their minds and the ship went off it is said to Peterhead and some people went from Aberdeen to meet them their. It is said the ship had money, arms and cannon but it seems was not to deliver the money but by some particular order of one Mr. Boyer,[1] whom they call a French Ambassador, who it seems is with him they call the Prince."

"Upon Saturday afternoon another Ship came, about 100 tons burthen. She landed from 120 to 130 men including 5 Officers. They were cloathed with red turned up with blue and lodged at Aberdeen all night. They marched from Aberdeen as did all the other rebels on Sunday. They said there sailed 5 ships in all from Dunkirk, that the other ships were larger and contained more men and could not be far from the Scottish coast. In this case Lachlan Grant is the Informer, who writing

[1]The Marquis D'Eguilles.

to E. Fawkener[1] says he gets the intelligence from Mr. Grant of Grant and that one of the expresses has been hanged by the rebels." (P.R.O.)

Captain Dyve of the "Winchelsea" writes, "destroyed the small vessel 'The Dogger' which lately landed the Frenchmen." (P.R.O.)

Intelligence was sent to Cumberland from Aberdeen, 25th February, 1746—

"On Friday there came into the Bay a pretty large vessel, a transport from France. She came out of Dunkirk in company with 4 other ships carrying FitzJaimes' whole Regt. Yesternight another ship came before this place and landed 94 private men with harnessing for horses. There are in this place, beside the above men, about 200 of Stoneywoods people and they are presently beaten to arms. . . . We have with us 50 hussars who are plundering and destroying all the country.

Sunday 2 of the clock afternoon Feb. 23. Since writing the above, Stoneywoods people to the number of 130 are gone with the French and there is none here but the Hussars. The people here have been collecting Levie money all last week and some gentlemen are detained here presently until they pay." (P.R.O.)

On the 6th February Bisset writes, "Our own (i.e., Aberdeenshire) and Banffshire men had most of them deserted home before now[2] and others drop home daily." He then chronicles the return to Aberdeen of some of the Jacobite leaders from the south, amongst them William Moir of Lonmay, of whom he says:—"Lonmay hath been acquainting his friends to hide their goods for fear of a plunder from men to come in this night: but as yet no body of them is yet come; it is thought this is given out to frighten them in to prevent payment of the levy

[1]Sir Everard Fawkener, Cumberland's Secretary.

[2]This was certainly an exaggeration.

money." He adds delightfully; "I begin to think that Lonmay hath been, since he returned, mocking this place with accounts of hundreds and thousands every day coming here." The next day he writes:—"The gentry are alwayes passing through here. I am pretty well informed that last night not under 100 horse passed through the old town." During the next few days he reports a constant stream of Jacobites going through Aberdeen, some staying in the town for a few days. In the middle of February the posts at Aberdeen, north and south, seem to have been very irregular, but Bisset is none the less able to give reports that some Jacobites have gone to Peterhead, Fraserburgh, the middle parts of Buchan, and to Inverurie, Strathbogie, Turriff and Banff. By 17th February he hears that the Jacobites have carried their arms and ammunition to Strathbogie and from there to Banff. It was expected that they would have left Aberdeen by 18th February, and on that day Bisset surmises that there were not more than 100, excepting Hussars, in the town, but it was a few days later before they had all departed. He hears that there is to be a rendezvous either at Banff or Keith on 20th February, and states that "they shall then be 4000 strong." He mentions a false report of the departure from Aberdeen on 22nd February of the last of the Jacobites — whom he humorously calls "our guests"— and on 23rd February he is at last able to chronicle that they have *all* left Aberdeen, "this day betwixt 2 and 3, this place is once more clearly evacuated of these rebels, and that in some hurry."

Early in February Gordon of Glenbucket was acting vigorously in Banffshire, and Ludovick Grant received intelligence that he was with about 300 men in Strathaven and Glenlivet, and that other Jacobite troops were

advancing from different directions. Grant, knowing that he could not resist all these forces nor hope for any assistance, decided to abandon Castle Grant which he was aware could not hold out long.[1] Accompanied by 400 men, he left the Castle and went to Aberdeen, where he placed his services at the disposal of the Duke and later advanced with the army. His clan, meanwhile, left to its own devices, made a pact of neutrality with the Prince.[2]

Lord Ogilvy's regiment, which had reached Keith on 17th February, marched to Elgin on the 19th, and stayed there for five days, when it returned to Fochabers. Apparently it was then ordered to march along the coast, for on 26th February it was at Cullen and remained there till 1st March, when it returned to Fochabers, taking up quarters around Gordon Castle. Prince Charles, acting on the advice of Lord George Murray, had assessed the counties of Banff, Moray and Nairn in 5,000 bolls of oatmeal for his army. Some of this was to be used as a reserve in case it might be necessary to retire into the Highlands, and so the meal was to be collected at Inverness. Some extracts from the "Orderly Book of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment," which bear on this subject, may here be given :—

"3-4 March 1746. At Gordon Castle. As there is some meal expected from Keith this night, the officer of

[1]It did, in fact, fall into the hands of the Jacobites. Ludovick Grant wrote to his father from Strathbogie on 24th March saying:—"Lord Nairn came to Castle Grant as did Lord George Murray with about 1600 men, and brought with them two cannon, 9 pounders to batter down the house if resisted. When our people saw that force, they agreed to give access to the house immediatlie. . . . I am informed Lord Nairn did noe great hurt when he was at Castle Grant, further than drinking some wine etc., and cutting a little beeff and mutton."

[2]In consequence of which the Duke of Newcastle wrote to Cumberland, 21st March:—"His Majesty approved the letter your Royal Highness ordered Lord Findlater to write to his son-in-law Mr. Grant wherein your Royal Highness so properly described the late *criminal* behaviour of that clan." (P.R.O.)

the guard, who is of Lord Ogilvy's first battalion, is desired to give a serjeant and 10 men to escort them to Elgin. The officer will be pleased to make the meal pass the water immediately on its arriving, and make the same horses that brings it carry it to Elgin."

It seems that a careful watch was kept on the road between Fochabers and Cullen as well as on that leading to Keith.

"5-7 March. Fochabers. The guard of Roy Stuart's men are desired to make frequent patrols out of the town on the roads that go to Cullen and Keith. One of the officers is desired to be always with the patrol, who will strictly examine every one they meet with, either going or coming, and, if they stop any suspected person, will send him in the morning to my Lord John Drummond."

At this time Lord John Drummond, having his headquarters at Gordon Castle, was in command of the troops at Fochabers, with his cavalry at Cullen and his infantry at Strathbogie, Keith and in the neighbourhood. The "Orderly Book" mentions that the Prince was expected to visit Fochabers, which he did in the early days of March and stayed at Gordon Castle, though the Duke had just left and the Duchess, who was in the house, would not receive him.[1] Precautions also seem to have been taken with regard to the boats on the Spey.

"7-8 March. Gordon Castle. The patrols as usual; and above all things to be very exact on the road of Keith, and to stop all suspected persons: the guard on the boats to be very exact and visit every body that passeth or repasseth."

The soldiers seem to have used a good deal of freedom, as shown by the entry of 9-10 March. "My

[1]This is the *only* occasion on which the Prince set foot on Banffshire soil; Aberdeenshire he never visited at all.

Lord has had general complaints that the soldiers are continually firing their guns; that they come even to Gordon Castle, and kill the cocks and hens at the door: he desires the Commanding officers of the corps to put a stop to such irregularities, and severely punish those who are guilty of it." Two days later there is another reference in the "Orderly Book" to the necessity for carefully guarding the roads to Cullen and Keith, on which occasion Gordon of Avochie and his men were responsible for the patrolling and were not only "to be particular as to examining every one they met with but also to inspect any passes which they carry."

By the middle of March Lord John Drummond had left Gordon Castle and, crossing the Spey, made his headquarters at the Manse of Speymouth.

The Jacobites were now engaged in collecting money and corn in Banffshire, and letters demanding these and threatening dire penalties in case of non-compliance, were sent to many of the lairds, some of these (addressed to Harry Miln, Factor of Drummuir, in the absence of Archibald Duff) still exist.

"Order from Colonel John Roy Stuart. These are ordering forthwith to be brought soon to this place, for the use of his Royall Highness, Charles Prince of Wales, one Boll of oats and sixty one stone of straw off each hundred pound of valued rent of the lands and estate belonging to Lord Bracco within the parishes of Glass and Botriphny, and lands and estate of Mr. Duff of Drummuir and Calder of Aswanly within the said parishes, under pain of military execution. Given at Huntly upon this the 14th of March 1746 year by me.

Jo. Roy Stuart."[1]

[1]John Roy Stuart had been a British cavalry officer either in the Scots Greys or Gardiner's Dragoons. He was the son of the owner of Kincardine on the Spey, and was lineally descended from Robert II, the first of the Stuart Kings. He was at this time in the prime of life, an excellent soldier and also a writer of verses, both in English and Gaelic.

A certain James Stuart wrote from "Pittiviach, 17th March, 1746," to Harry Miln, the Drummuir factor, demanding cess and levy money from the Drummuir estate immediately, "otherways you'll forgive what may happen on that account!" To this Harry Miln apparently answered that he would endeavour to pay the money, but before his reply was received a party had been sent from Fochabers to the Mill of Towie, Auchindachy; Miln, however, had taken the precaution of being absent. Mrs. Miln evidently tried to soothe the angry Jacobites, for Francis Gordon of Kincardine Mill wrote from Fochabers on 24th March informing the factor that he had been at his house and that Mrs. Miln had given assurance that the money would shortly be forthcoming, so he had stayed his hand, but adds that if the money be not paid at once he would "send a party to doe the execution appointed against delinquents in payment, to show that if hostilities is not prevented by payment against tomorrow morning you'll have yourself and not me to blame for what happens thereafter."

Harry Miln's reply reached Gordon just after the above letter had been despatched. The factor's method of absenting himself from home, as well as his failure to produce the money demanded, had naturally provoked Gordon's anger and he replies on the same day in the following emphatic manner:—"Unless you come here (Fochabers) and somehow or other settle that affaire with me, I must of necessity and depend upon it I *will*, send a party to visite, not only your own, but likewise all the possessions of the tenantry. For allow me to tell you that the Prince's commands will not be baffled by your childish method of absenting yourself for that purpose; and that such methods must rather exasperate than mitigate the affaire: so that for your own sake as well as the tenants I would begg leave to advise you to be here airly to-morrow morning, and not to endeavour

on any pretext longer to delay the matter." As an afterthought, Gordon adds to his letter, "If you have not the money, I am satisfied to accept your bill." In spite of Francis Gordon's readiness to accept a bill, Harry Miln still failed to comply, and two days later an order was issued to the commanding officer of Mackintosh's Battalion, directing him "instantly to repair with a party to the lands of Drummuir and there cause burn and destroy the corns and effects of Harry Miln" and other Drummuir tenants, for "contemptuously disobeying his Royal Highness' orders, and to bring such of the tenants of Drummuir as you can find, prisoners to this place with their horses chattels, all to be detained till the foresaid orders be complyed with."

But the destruction and burnings threatened did not take place, either for want of men who could be detailed to carry them out, or because of a belated payment by Harry Miln of £20.[1] This is acknowledged by Francis Gordon on 28th March in a curt note in which he says that he can't understand why Harry Miln did not himself come to Fochabers "unless you immagine that I am much amused and set off with triffling paymts. of this kind. If this is your scheme you'll surely find yourself deceived in it. I don't think myself bound to show either lenity to the tennents or you, and I, once for all, tell you that, as sure as God is in Heaven, my intention is that both you and they shall know the effects of abused patience. How farr I'll get my intention execute, the consequence will prove."

This threat seems to have had the desired result.

The final receipt, preserved at Drummuir, runs:—

"Fochabers, 4th April 1746. Received by me, Collector of the Cess and Levie money of Banffshire, from Hary Miln, factor on the Estate of Drummuir, the sume of

[1]Or, as writers on the Government side point out, from fear of reprisals by Cumberland's formidable army then lying in Aberdeen.

twelve hundred and ninety-seven pound sixteen shilling Scots as the Levie money ariseing due out of these lands, as also one hundred and eleven pound seventeen shillings and two pennies Scots as the Cess of the foresaid lands due at and preceeding the twenty fifth day of March last of which Levie money and Cesses, the said Harry Miln as ffactor and all concerned in payment thereof are discharged by Ffran Gordon."

Many of the lairds and tenants in Banffshire were further compelled to contribute corn and straw for the Prince's army. The following is a copy of a general order for this, which is preserved at Drummuir. "To the officers or principal inhabitants of the parish of Boatrifny. These doe hereby ordaine the heritors or their doers and tenants of the parish of Boatrifny to send in to ffochabers two hundred and fifty stone of straw and ten bolls of oats for the use of his Royall Highness' forces this day, and that under pain of military execution to be done against them if not imediately obey'd. Given at Fochabers this 6th April, 1746. Mat. Bagot." Three days later the Duke of Perth wrote to Harry Miln peremptorily ordering him to hand in stores at Fochabers without further delay, in default of which military execution would at once be done on Miln's farm and effects; but on 11th April Cumberland's army was at Cullen, the Jacobites having retreated hastily before him, and the Drummuir factor must have blessed the day when the near approach of the Government troops caused the supporters of Prince Charles to withdraw beyond the Spey.

A minor item of interest concerning Banffshire at this period is culled from the columns of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for Monday, 31st March, 1746. "The Vulture looked into Portsoy Harbour on Tuesday last and hoisted French colours, on which two boats with 16 men (Jacobites) on board came from the town. They

were all taken and put aboard the Aldborough, man-of-war." Among these was George Hay.[1] (P.R.O.)

Two troops of dragoons and three regiments of foot, under General Bland, reached Aberdeen on 25th February. The Duke of Cumberland did not arrive there until the 27th, and remained for six weeks, during which time he matured his plans and perfected the general arrangements for his subsequent advance. On 15th March he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle from Aberdeen:—

"I have fresh advices of the attempts of the rebels and the disposition of the country to be again up, notwithstanding I have so lately passed through these disaffected places and that they are as it were, between two of his Majesty's armies. But this petulant insolent spirit is kept up by lyes of the rebels of the great number of those in arms, and of the landing of Troops from France and by the lenity hitherto used by the Government." (P.R.O.)

Cumberland further wrote to the Duke of Newcastle from Aberdeen:—"The Jacobite rebellious principle is so rooted in this nation, that this Generation must be pretty well worn out before this country will be quiet."

Bland's force was quartered in the Old Town. Ligonier's, Barrel's and another regiment of foot reached Aberdeen the next day, as well as what Bisset describes as "a regiment of black horse," and "there came at the least 1000 Argyle Highlanders, pretty men and in fine order." After Cumberland's own arrival Bisset writes: "I was invited yesterday to wait on the Duke but I did not choose to go." He was, however, later presented to

[1] See page 308.

Cumberland. There is no entry in the Diary between 28th February and 31st March, when Bisset mentions the hanging of a spy at the Bridge of Don, also the hanging of two Englishmen who had robbed a house. He complains of the boredom of attending on these men, being probably disappointed that (like Samuel Pepys) he could not go about and collect gossip.

The "Volunteer with Cumberland's Army"[1] was also one of the anonymous informers who wrote letters first to Cumberland and then to Albemarle from various parts of Scotland throughout 1746, 1747 and 1748, as some of his letters are still in the Record Office.

He seems to have had a keen eye for varieties of landscape, and gives some picturesque details of the country he passed through.

"From Stonehive[2] we had twelve short miles to Aberdeen, and within 4 or 5 miles of that City we begin to have a most wretched bad country, producing only Peat and barren Land. The City is placed in 57 Degrees 25 Minutes Northern Latitude and is the Capital of the Sheriffdom of Aberdeen. It much exceeds the rest of the Cities in the North of Scotland in Bigness, Trade and Beauty. The air is wholesome and the inhabitants well-bred. . . . The streets are paved with a sort of Flint and Pebbles, and the Houses built of stones, generally four stories high. . . . The city is built upon three hills, but the greatest part upon the highest. . . . It had formerly a mint as appears by Silver coins stamped there, with this inscription, 'Urbs Aberdeae,' which are still preserved in the Closets of the curious. . . . Their manufacture is chiefly in stockings, of which they make vast quantities all around the adjacent country, and every morning, the poor bring in loads to sell about the town to Merchants who export them, some to London, but the most part go to Hamburgh or to Holland. . . .

[1]Since identified with James Ray of Whitehaven, who also wrote the "History of the Rebellion."

[2]Stonehaven.

These poor wretches get two pence per day that make them; so the merchant told me with whom I quartered. They knit them all with wires, the most part plain, some ribed, and vast quantities in squares with flourishes, which please the Dutch greatly."

The salmon also interest him. "It is almost incredible the abundance of them they have here and in all the rivers further north. A fish unknown to Pliny (unless it was the Esox of the Rhine), as it is to this day in all parts of Italy, but very common and well known in those Northern parts of Europe, being of a bright Scarlet all within." He derives their name from the manner in which, when running up stream in the spring, "whenever any height obstructs their passage they will, with a Jerk of their Tail (*cum Saltu*, from *Salio*, to leap) whip over, to the Amazement of the Spectators." Another industry to which he alludes is "a Particular export here of Pork, pickled and packed in barrels, which has the reputation of being the best cured in Europe for keeping on very long voyages."

Ray's account of some other places passed by the King's army between Aberdeen and Inverness, though given by him on his way south after Culloden, may appropriately be inserted here.

"At Keith was nothing remarkable but an exceedingly high and steep stone bridge, of one Arch, over a pleasant branch of the river Deveron.[1] From Keith I had six more miles to Strathbogie, and in that road passed over the most stony Country I had yet seen called Gaury,[2] and from thence through a very boggy Country till I came to Strathbogie. This town and the ruined castle of Huntly, which gives the title to the Marquises of Huntly, stand in a vast plain, and the mountains are so regular around it that one would think

[1]The River Isla.

[2]Garioch.

they were formed by art, or else Nature took its Choice in placing them."

"Strathbogie [Huntly] is a small pitiful village, but a very proper name, it being on every side boggy and marshy ground. I here forded a river before I entered the town, called the Deveron. . . . The town consists of very poor houses, and full of disaffected people, which plainly appeared when Kingston's light Horse came here, against whom they had shut up all their doors, many of which they were obliged to force open, before they could get Entrance."

From Strathbogie he went across country to Banff, and thought he was again in the Highlands, "the country being continued barren Mountains and valleys!" Here his description is less true to nature! "I passed several Laird's dwelling houses . . . the famous seat of the Laird of Braco's called Rothy Mays . . . the seat of one Abernethy called Laird of Mayen, the most pleasantly situated of any place I had ever seen. . . . Also a good sort of house, belonging to one Gordon, a very old man, formerly a General in the Czar of Muscovy's Service." [General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul.][1]

While at Banff he greatly admired Lord Braco's unfinished Mansion, Duff House.

"I thought it the finest piece of Architecture I had seen in Scotland, but what's a great misfortune, the Inside is not finished, so that nobody lives in it, which was occasioned by a law suit between the Laird of Braco and his architect about a crack in the building; but the architect getting the cause, grieved the Laird Braco and made him abandon this noble pile and live among the Mountains near Strathbogie; quite a recluse place and distant from Company [i.e., Rothiemay!). This building at Banff is very high, square and full of Columns of noble architecture on every side—it has also

[1] See page 21.

Towers at every corner and others in the middle; it grieved me to see so noble a piece of work neglected."[1]

To return to the Duke of Cumberland. He was received on the Schoolhill by a deputation of the magistrates, who ceremoniously conducted him to his lodgings in the Guestrow—the house belonging to Mr. Thomson, an advocate, and bearing the ominous number of "45"! Next day (28th February) the ministers of the town, the professors of King's and Marischal Colleges and other prominent citizens, formally waited on the Duke, welcomed him to the city and congratulated him on his success; which was a little premature as, so far, he had done nothing save advance through a somewhat rough country where there was no enemy to oppose him, and, the supplies of provisions and other necessaries being ample, the conditions cannot have been very arduous. The day after his arrival the Duke sent Lord Ancrum to Corgarf Castle to seize some enemy arms. His own despatch from Aberdeen to the Duke of Newcastle on 5th March says:—"I sent Lord Ancrum with 400 dragons and Major Morris with 300 foot to a castle at the head of the River Don 40 miles from hence, called Corgarff, and situated in the very heart of the rebellion, to take a quantity of Spanish arms and powder that I heard was lodged there. He took them without resistence, the rebels having quitted the castle upon his approach, but the rebels having driven away the horses of the country, he was forced to destroy most of the arms, and the 30 barrels of powder." (P.R.O.)

Lord Loudoun was also ordered to come to Aberdeen with his "Independent Companies of Highlanders."

[1]After the lawsuit between the elder Adam and his employer had been decided in favour of the former, it is said that Lord Braco would never so much as look at the house which had cost him so dear, and when forced to pass near it when driving to Banff would draw down the blinds of his coach.

recently raised. Very bad weather, with a heavy fall of snow, set in about this time and considerably retarded the movements of the army. Early in March a ball was given in Marischal College, which was attended by the Duke, who complimented the citizens of Aberdeen on their good conduct and talked with some of those present. Little is known of the opinion of the majority of the Englishmen of this, probably their first visit to Scotland. But Lord Albemarle wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, from Aberdeen, on 5th March, in which he said:—"I prefer the soil to the inhabitants." During the whole of his six weeks' stay in Aberdeen the Duke of Cumberland lived in the house of Mr. Thomson, and, according to the "Jacobite Memoirs," he used "every kind of provision found in the house, coals, candles, ales, or other liquors in the cellar and the milk of the cow; bed and table linen, which were very much spoiled and abused. When about to march from Aberdeen, he left six guineas to the three servants of the house; but did not make the least compliment or requittall to Mr. Thomson for the so long and free use of his house, furniture and provisions, nor so much as call for his landlord and landlady to return them thanks."

Equally unpleasing things are recorded of General Hawley, who had been so quickly and completely defeated by Prince Charles at the battle of Falkirk.[1] This uncouth individual, who was lodged in the house of Mrs. Gordon of Hallhead, a neighbour of Mr. Thomson, stole all her clothes except those she was wearing at the time (though for what or whom he wanted them is a little obscure) and possessed himself of most of her portable property. With the eye of a connoisseur he annexed her china, merely saying he wanted it "because it was very pretty." The full story of Hawley's thievings will be found under the account of George Gordon of Hallhead.

[1]He himself wrote on this occasion:—"My heart is broke."

A Mr. John Forbes writes from London on 9th January, 1746, to the Lord President:—

"No mortal disputes Mr. Hawley's genius for the management of a squadron, or prosecuting with vigour any man to the Gallows, although at the same time, they wish that he had the lenity to make converts or the absolute force to make all fly before him. . . . We at present here are beginning to breathe, as the rebells have retired to Scotland, which to the Generality here is the same as Norway." (P.R.O.)

These acts of theirs must ever remain a blot upon the reputation of the King's Generals. It is curious to note that later, on his advance from Aberdeen to Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland should have felt it necessary to requite Mrs. Gordon of Cobairdy for certain damages which his troops had committed at her house in the sum of £100. Perhaps as he advanced through the somewhat hostile counties of Aberdeen and Banff even he may at times have felt not quite so confident of his future victory.

Upon his arrival in Aberdeen the Duke had immediately deprived all the Non-jurant Ministers of their livings and ordered that the Meeting Houses and Chapels should be destroyed. This order was promptly carried out, both in the city itself and, later on, through the Northern counties as the army advanced. It was, doubtless, a wise political step, as many of the clergy were secret supporters of the Rising, whilst others had joined it openly, but the brutality of its execution caused a good deal of ill-feeling.

During his occupation of Aberdeen, Cumberland converted Gordon's Hospital into a fort and garrisoned it with 200 men under Captain Crosbie.[1] This building had been erected in 1732 for the education of the poor

[1]With the object, as he himself wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, "of securing the town against any insults from Glenbucket's people or any others who may have forbore shewing themselves when we were here with the army." (P.R.O.)

children of decayed burgesses. There had been unaccountable delay in using it, and its first occupants were the Hanoverian troops, who surrounded it by a trench and earthen ramparts faced with pallisades, and called it "Fort Cumberland." Subsequently complaints were made that the soldiers had pulled down the dykes and laid waste the gardens. In April, 1747, Aberdeen presented a Petition to the King for payment for the cannon and small arms taken to Edinburgh by Cope in 1745 and for the damage done to Gordon's Hospital in 1746, claiming £290 for the latter, and in October of the same year it received over £800 to cover the two claims.

The despatch in the *London Gazette* for 9th March reports from Aberdeen that "as soon as the great snow which fell last night is a little run off, we shall march from here," but on 31st March another despatch reports: "The continued ill weather we have had here for this month has raised the waters of the Spey so high, that the Army still remains here but his R.H. proposes to march as soon as possible." The Government troops had to wait for nearly another week before setting out in a body.

At Aberdeen the Duke of Cumberland was joined, as before stated, by several prominent Hanoverian sympathisers. Lord Aberdeen came to the town early in March. Later the Duke of Gordon arrived from Gordon Castle, which place he is said to have left on foot and in a secret manner, as the Jacobites, who were in occupation of the place, are reported to have watched him most carefully. Lord and Lady Findlater, Lord and Lady Braco and Ludovick Grant and his wife Lady Margaret, also reached Cumberland's headquarters. Lord Findlater and Lord Braco at once ingratiated themselves with the Duke of Cumberland by presenting gifts to his troops.

THE pressure of the advancing Government troops had gradually become greater from the beginning of March. General Bland was sent from Aberdeen with a column to harry the Jacobites; he occupied Inverurie and Old Meldrum and then proceeded to Strathbogie. Andrew Henderson, in his "History of the Rebellion," says that while Bland's troops were at Strathbogie "Lord Braco took care to have them supplied with every necessity." John Roy Stuart had to retire hastily and fell back on Keith, whence he rejoined Lord John Drummond at Fochabers.

On the night of the 20th of March took place what General Humphrey Bland calls "the affair of Keith." There was no possibility of disguising the fact that the result was not favourable to the Government forces, and in his despatch of 21st March the General puts all the blame on "the mad-headed Highlander who commanded the party." This was one Captain Campbell, who had with him 70 of his Argyllshire militia and 30 of Kingston's horse, and Bland merely intended them to make a reconnaissance at Keith. His despatch continues:—

"Being determined to do something that should transmit his name to future ages, he took upon himself to act quite contrary to my orders. He formed a wild project of his own to surprise Forcoborse [*sic*] and lay all night at Keith, where he was surprised. By the obstinacy of this officer, he has lost his whole party except 5 of Kingston's men and 1 Highlander. As Kingston's cornet (one Thomas Smith) has made his escape on Foot, after his horse fell into a bogg, I took his examination of that unlucky affair till a more perfect account can be got. The rebells marched from Forcoborse in the night and surrounded Keith and entered at both ends. By what the Cornet says the rebells had about 500 Foot besides their Hussars, and as the Campbells lay in the church and defended the Churchyard for above half an hour, and that he heard

very brisk firing during that time, he makes no doubt the rebells paid dear for their conquest. . . . I hope we shall soon have our revenge with interest."

The return of the killed and missing gives 53 Campbells and 31 of Kingston's Horse. The Jacobite account of the fight states that the party, under Captain Campbell, had plundered the inhabitants of Keith on their arrival there and so aroused dissatisfaction that volunteers appeared, who conducted a party, under Major Nicholas Glascoe, which came from Fochabers to surprise the Government troops. The volunteers led Glascoe's men right round the town, so that, as Bland says, a simultaneous attack was delivered from two points.

The Jacobite force, which Kingston's Cornet thought was about 500 strong, seems actually to have consisted of 50 men under Captain Robert Stewart, a few of Lord Ogilvy's men, with 16 Frenchmen and 20 cavalry. Having surprised and misled the sentry on the south side of the town, who took them for Government reinforcements, they entered the main street and marched up to the churchyard, where the greater part of Campbell's force was posted, some within the church itself; these kept up a brisk fire on the attacking Jacobites, many of whom were wounded, including Captain Robert Stewart. Major Glascoe, meanwhile, was carrying on the fight outside the churchyard, where he took about 80 prisoners and 30 horses. Captain Campbell himself was at length wounded and forced to surrender. The skirmish appears to have ended from the lack of any more enemy to conquer, and Major Glascoe carried his prisoners in triumph to Fochabers. This was the only actual fighting which took place upon the soil of Banffshire.

Major Nicholas Glascoe, the hero of this affair, subsequently took a prominent part in the pillaging of

Cullen House and was at Culloden, where he was captured and sent to London. Being a Lieutenant in Diflon's Irish-French Regiment and of French birth, he petitioned to be treated as a prisoner of war; after some delay this was done, and he was removed from Southwark Gaol to the Marshalsea and eventually released. In 1752 he was still petitioning the British Government for repayment of the money he had spent on his own defence and that paid to the jailer for removing the heavy irons!

His letter to the Duke of Newcastle, written from St. Omer on 16th April, 1752, on the occasion of Newcastle's passing through that town, gives some curious details of his trial. (P.R.O.)

He was altogether a prisoner for ten months after Culloden, and had to pay two shillings a day to the eight witnesses whom he brought up to London to testify to his being a French subject, amounting to £234.

£40 for the carriage hired in Inverness when he gave himself up as a prisoner to Cumberland.

£42 to his Council.

£42 for his nine months' lodging in prison at one guinea a week!

And £21, as said above, "pour changer les gros fers."

With some minor items the total amounted to £391 16s. 0d.

It is not known whether the British Government recognised this as a debt or not.

Glascoe had acted as Major and Military Instructor to the 2nd Battalion of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment.

The sheet anchor of the Government in Banffshire was Lord Findlater, and very early in the Rising he wrote to the Lord President:—

"Cullen House,
2 September 1745.

In the situation in which I am, in a corner where, tho' far the greater number of my tenants are really well affected, yet they have no arms and have never been accustomed to use them, and there are many popish and disaffected persons in the neighbourhood, you may be sure I am under very great uneasiness, especially as we are dayly allarmed and entertained with various storys totally differing from one another.

There is an incident happened near this place last night, which altho' it may perhaps be but trifling, I chuse to mention. A boat came about one o'clock in the morning to Portnockie, a fisher town of mine a long mile from this house. There were in it 10 or 12 people as they say, in tolerable good habit. Only one gentleman came ashore and lay in a little ale-house. He paid liberally for his entertainment and went off at five a clock in the morning with his servant, pressing a cupple of horses and a hirer from a countryman. He said in the ale house that he was an officer belonging to General Cope, and intended to breakfast with me, and that he would only take the horses the length of Cullen, but when he had proceeded a little, he altered his resolution and went eastward close by the coast, shunning this little town and the high roads." (P.R.O.)

The suspicion aroused by the mysterious traveller was without foundation; the Lord President replied two days later:—

"The person who landed near Cullen, and posted southward, was ane officer sent by Sir John Cope with letters to Edinburgh, who finding that the small boat in which he hoped to have coasted it, could not bear up against the easterly gale, quited it and pursued his journey on horseback. Sir John Cope has marched this morn' from Inverness, with the troops under his command in his way to Aberdeen."

The officer was probably the Captain Rogers, who passed through Banff and received some assistance from George Abernethy, the Magistrate, in consequence of which Sir John Cope was cited as a witness for the defence in Abernethy's trial.[1]

Cope himself wrote from "Terra" (Turriff) on 10th September that he had "met the Duke of Gordon at Banff, where his Grace came to meet me, he was not very well in health, so that I had little more than common discourse with him, but what he did say was expressing himself zealously for his Majesty's service."

Cumberland wrote shortly after the battle of Culloden to the Duke of Newcastle:—

"Lord Findlater has sett out on his way to London. As he has behaved with the greatest zeal and activity for the King's service, and is thoroughly apprized of the bad constitution of this part of the Kingdom and appears to me to have just notions of what would be proper to amend it, I must not omit to recommend him as a person fit to be talked to upon this occasion."

While still in Aberdeen in March, 1746, Cumberland had written:—

"I had the pleasure of meeting Lord Aberdeen, who shews the greatest zeal for His Majesty's service. Lord Findlater and his son-in-law Mr. Grant are also come hither. Mr. Grant says he shall be able and will bring out 600 of his people tolerably well armed.[2]

Lord Findlater is also very serviceable to us and will be more so, as we march towards Banff—of which county he is Sherriff."

Later, Cumberland wrote again:—

"I have acquainted Lord Findlater with his Majesty's goodness in taking notice of his zeal and shall do the same to Lord Aberdeen when he comes to town.

[1]See page 120.

[2]These men, as is well known, remained neutral till after Culloden.

I must not omit mentioning the Duke of Gordon's zeal, of which he has given the strongest proof. Since he left Gordon Castle, the rebels have behaved towards the Duchess without the least regard and have made all the noise and disturbance they could notwithstanding her condition. She must by this time be brought to bed, but they have closely confined her Physician whom I sent from hence to her. All of which has the proper effect upon the Duke of Gordon, and only serves to animate his zeal."

James Anderson wrote from Boyndie to Lord Findlater:—

"23rd March 1746.

We in this country are presently at ease. All your Lordship's tenants who were carried off prisoners have made their escape. Some of the rebells now and then I hear come to Cullen and some of them now and then come to Banff, but under cloud of night, and take off early in the morning."

It seems that James Anderson was putting the best face he could on the state of matters in Banffshire.

Provost James Innes of Banff, writing on the following day to the Lord President, gives rather a different view of the prevailing conditions:—

"Banf, 24 March.

My Lord,

Was it not to you in whom I can truly confide, I should not just now put pen to paper about anything that concerns the army, lest my honest meaning should be misinterpreted. I acknowledge there is a great need for intelligence but am much afraid that little will be got from a country, where the far greater part are notoriously disaffected and the rest are still in the power of the rebells. . . . Every honest man in this corner has numberless spies upon him, and none more ready than his nearest neighbours to inform the enemy against him or deliver him up to destruction. The case of our army is doubtless in some respects very hard. Their light horse

are mounted by strangers, the roads are unknown to them, and nothing can supply the defect and guard the army against surprises but the exactest military discipline and thorough persuasion that the handful of French which are among the rebels, know their business, and are most alert in taking all advantage."

Lord Findlater being so strong an adherent of the existing dynasty, it was natural that the Jacobites should have felt a special enmity towards him and were only too ready to do any harm to him or his property. The plundering of Cullen House occurred on Tuesday, 8th April, the very day that Cumberland left Aberdeen, but before describing it a brief review must be given of previous events which had taken place at Cullen. In the beginning of September, 1745, Lord Findlater was in residence at Cullen House, but a report being circulated that some Jacobites intended to come there and make him prisoner, he thought it best to leave the place, with Lady Findlater, and set out for Elgin to join General Cope who was then at Inverness. It seems that Lord Findlater met Cope at Elgin and returned with him as far as Cullen. On Cope's leaving Cullen on 8th September for Aberdeen, Lord and Lady Findlater, thinking themselves not safe, left also for Castle Grant, the home of their son-in-law, and remained till March 1746, when they joined Cumberland at Aberdeen. Shortly after their departure, Gordon of Glenbucket and a party of Jacobites arrived at Cullen House and took away almost all the arms and such horses and saddles as they could find, but, from the evidence of the household servants, they appear to have behaved in a civil manner and done no harm.

After this Cullen seems to have been left for some months in comparative quiet, save for the passing and repassing of some bodies of Jacobites and the incursion

of the Macleods and Munroes on their way to Inverurie. Lord Lewis Gordon, in November, had assured Lord Findlater that what he must do for Prince Charles' cause in Banffshire should be done "in the mildest and easiest way in my power," but undoubtedly the latter's tenants were being greatly harassed by the Jacobites. On 10th December, 1745, Duncan Forbes of Culloden wrote to Lord Findlater that he had noticed with concern the threats used by the Jacobites in Banffshire to raise men and money for the Prince, and he hoped the tenants would resist all such threats and not "become partys to high treason for a very few days when relief is so very near at hand." "The relief" mentioned was that of Macleod and Munro, who were then advancing from Inverness. Their efforts did not greatly further the Government cause! On 16th December Sir Harry Innes wrote to the Laird of Grant that Gordon of Avochie had been at Cullen with about 180 men, but that he was then retreating before Macleod, who reached Cullen on 17th December and was at Banff two days later. The subsequent defeat at Inverurie by Lord Lewis Gordon relieved Aberdeenshire and Banffshire of any Hanoverian troops, and for a time the two counties were completely in the hands of the Jacobite party.

Various small bodies of Prince Charles' supporters passed through Banff, Portsoy and Cullen towards the end of 1745 and the beginning of 1746, but it was not till after the victory of Falkirk, when the whole army came north, that Cullen House received more marked attention at their hands. The first party arriving in February, 1746, broke open Lord Findlater's granaries and carried off the oats. The Rev. James Lawtie, minister of Cullen, was forced to give up the key of the girnal[1] and had to weigh out meal with armed men standing by. They

[1]Granary.

were, however, most punctilious in giving him receipts for the amount taken. He was also compelled to send considerable quantities of Lord Findlater's hay and forage to the Jacobite forces at Portsoy and Fochabers.

So far the house itself had escaped. But a few days later a party arrived there at 11 o'clock at night, when the gates were shut. One of the men placed a plank against the wall and got over; others followed and the whole party stayed the night and became very drunk. They went into the town the next morning but returned in the evening and, re-entering the house, stayed there for some days, the excuse being that they were levying for cess. From this time there was a succession of parties visiting Cullen House. First a Quartermaster of the Irish Brigade arrived and ordered beds for 40 gentlemen, many of whom behaved badly, drinking heavily and doing a certain amount of minor damage: then followed Lord Strathallan and his men, then Lord Balmerino, then Lord Ogilvy, each of whom was accompanied by some troops, and finally Lord Pitsligo, who brought no soldiers with him and only stayed one night. Then there arrived Colonel Bagot[1] with his hussars, who remained in and about the house for nearly four weeks. Altogether Cullen House was occupied for a period of six weeks by these parties: some of which behaved very well, while others were uproarious. They lived luxuriously on the provisions in the house and frequently quarrelled over the wine.

On 26th March some Jacobites made the Town Council of Cullen prisoners, and by threats forced them to pay cess. Previous to this the Rev. James Lawtie had sent George Nicholson, Lord Findlater's gardener, to Aberdeen to acquaint his lordship of what was

[1]John Bagot was a French-Irish officer in Prince Charles' army, and actually commanded the Jacobite Hussars, of whom John Murray of Broughton was nominally Colonel.

happening. According to Mr. Lawtie's statement, a Jacobite officer, who was then living in the minister's house, had shown him an order, signed by Lord Strathallan, to make Lord Findlater a prisoner. Mr. Lawtie further stated that Francis Gordon of Kincardine Mill had shown him an order, signed by Lord John Drummond, directing that by virtue of orders from Prince Charles, Cullen House should be pillaged and burned if the levy money and cess should not be immediately paid. There seems to have been considerable doubt as to who signed this order, and if it were indeed a genuine document. At first it was given out that the pillaging took place by order of Lord John Drummond as a reprisal for the many acts of the same kind that were being done by the Duke of Cumberland's directions, but Lord John denied having given any such orders and Major Glascoe took the blame upon himself. It was undoubtedly true that the houses of a great many people who were then with Prince Charles had been pillaged, so that there was some slight excuse for the destruction done at Cullen House.

Francis Gordon wrote from Fochabers on 28th March to Mr. Lawtie insisting that the levy money must be paid:—"If this is not done without further delay, I can easily foresee, and I am really in earnest, that greater hardships must ensue," and adds significantly, "so that if further mischief is not prevented, I shall leave it to yourself to judge at whose door it lyes—and I shall be extreamly sorry, yea think myself ill-requited, if Lord Findlater shall take exception at my conduct when I intended things to be done in the easiest way for all concerned." Lord Findlater received information as to the threat to his house, and upon informing the Duke of Cumberland of the matter, the latter ordered him to reply that if the rebels took such action he would be compelled to recall such protections as had already been

given and allow the houses of all Jacobites to be plundered. Lord Findlater immediately sent a letter to Cullen in which he declined absolutely to pay any cess or levy money, whatever might be the consequences; and directed his factor and tenants to refuse to pay anything and ordered that the wives and children of any of his tenants who might join the Jacobite party should be turned out of their houses. It was asserted by the Rev. George Innes, in a narrative written in 1748-9, that there were passages in this letter which insulted the whole Highland army and particularly Lord John Drummond, and that this so incensed the Jacobites that parties were immediately sent to Cullen House.

On 30th March Francis Gordon wrote again to Mr. Lawtie, this time saying that Lord John Drummond had just heard of Lord Findlater's defiant answer, which was to the effect that "if they burn my house or the house of any well-affected gentlemen his (Cumberland's) army will burn the houses of all the rebels and this he has ordered to intimate by showing my letter to every party that may come here." This answer apparently had made Lord John very indignant and Francis Gordon fears the worst may happen. He continues:—"Therefore all the service I can now do is to desire that the papers, or any thing of consequence in the house, may be withdrawn—for when or in what manner the Warrant is to be executed I am not at freedom to tell you, farther than for certain it is to be done. And whatever will hereafter happen to one side or other, I'll venture to say he (Lord Findlater) will be loaded with it, as proceeding from his obstinacy to one side and his advice to the other."

The attack took place in the night of the 7th and the morning of the 8th of April, 1746. There was a subsequent petition for redress presented by Lord Findlater, and extracts from the evidence show what actually took place.

George Lawtie (son of the Rev. James Lawtie), who was described as a Land Waiter at Leith, said that on the night between the 7th and 8th of April he was lying in bed at Cullen House when the rebels, commanded by Major Glascoe, arrived from Fochabers; that they broke open the front door whilst he fled out at the back and hid in the park. Next morning he saw the party returning from Cullen to Fochabers carrying loot. He then went to Cullen House and found everything in great disorder and all the rooms broken open.

Alexander Grant of Tochieneal, Chamberlain to Lord Findlater, described how he entered the house two days after the plundering and found it "most dismal"; "all the furniture, except some pictures and trifles, being carried away or destroyed; the cabinets, chests, trunks and the cupboards, where papers were kept, being broken to pieces and many of the papers either taken away or torn up or burned."

The Rev. James Lawtie related that about one o'clock on the morning of 8th April, Colonel Bagot came to the deponent's house and made him prisoner. About an hour later, Lawtie had a message from the women in Cullen House begging him to come at once for the rebels were breaking in and plundering it. Having obtained permission from Colonel Bagot he attended by a guard went towards the house and, as he approached, "he heard a most terrible noise of beating and breaking things and when he went in to the court, saw the Charter Room open, and rebels going in and out, and carrying off great quantities of papers, writings and other things, and he saw the utmost confusion of multitudes going through the house and court, breaking and pulling down things in the house, and carrying off burdens of all sorts of furniture, books and valuable things." After staying some time Mr. Lawtie returned to his house, accompanied by the guard, and sat there

with Colonel Bagot until Major Glascoe arrived about daylight. The rebels then departed and Mr. Lawtie went over to Cullen House where he saw the most deplorable scene:—"All the furniture tore down and almost all carried off, chests, trunks, cabinets, presses, broken in pieces and lying opened, all the floors full of rubbish and strewed with feathers, broken mirrors, broken glass, broken china, pieces of broken wood, torn down from the panels of the room, papers, parchments torn and trampled, and mixed with dust and feathers, and jelly, and marmalade, and honey, and wet and all sorts of nastiness mixed together, and that in some rooms he waded to the knees in that mixture." Next day came another rebel party, calling themselves Lord Ogilvie's men, and they also broke into the house, not only throwing things about everywhere but even scattering documents about the roads and the garden. Mr. Lawtie states that he went to the other side of the Big Bridge, "where he saw a kind of fair holding and the men selling to one another, or dividing the remains of the plunder," which was left after the first day's spoiling. When he thought all the rebels were gone, he returned to his house, but on the way he met a mounted Jacobite, who said he understood that Lord Findlater had a good many law books and he must have some of them. He compelled Mr. Lawtie to show him where they were, and, having secured them from the library, he rode off in great good humour bearing the strange burden. The minister then made another inspection of the house and discovered it to be in a worse state than he thought; "the second party having made very clean work and left nothing, scarce a tongs, or a shovel, or the lowest things in the kitchen or offices, only a good many of the pictures remained untouched, and some broken chairs, and some tables in the private dining room, and some hangings there, that being the place where the rebel gentry used to

sit." Mr. Lawtie subsequently gathered from the roads several papers which the rebels had dropped and obtained others which people brought to him, many of them much spoiled with wet.

Another witness, Patrick Taylor of Burnside of Dipple, was compelled to join the plunderers as they passed the farm of Woodside. He described how many books in the library as well as parchments were wilfully burnt and that several of the rebels marched away carrying their plunder on their backs, on their guns and on their horses. He also relates how, on their return from Cullen, when near Fochabers, they met Gordon of Avochie and his men, who stopped them and said, "it was a shame to any that pretended to call themselves gentlemen to be concerned in such an action as the plundering of the house, and that he would stop them and take their plunder from them, and lay it by, either to be restored, or at least to be disposed of as their superior commanding officers of their army should direct, upon which they stood at a full stop for some time, until orders came that every man should keep what he had, and then they proceeded to Fochabers."

Amongst the depositions contained in Lord Findlater's Petition is that of James Anderson, a soldier in Moir of Stoneywood's regiment. (He gave his evidence in 1748, subsequent to the Act of Indemnity.) He states that he received orders to go to Cullen House with Colonel Bagot and Major Glascoe. They reached there about one o'clock on the morning of the 8th April, and the house appeared to be lighted up as he saw it in the distance; he stopped at the Big Bridge and saw much plunder lying about on the road. Upon entering the house he observed "the most horrible destruction that ever man beheld, which would make any man's heart ache who had a heart within him," and he mentions that "the Highlanders were so outrageous

about the plunder, they could not let Lowlandmen come near them."

Alexander Dunbar, porter to Lord Findlater, deposed that he had been a servant in Cullen House for about 40 years and was in residence there during the whole rebellion. He saw cabinets upset on the floor, and Major Glascoe broke one with his foot; the Highlanders took bundles of papers and put them in their belted plaids, and when they found single papers they often tried to read them and then threw them on the floor. In the drawing-room he saw some of the rebels break open the cabinets and take out quantities of valuable china, which they threw on the floor and smashed with their guns and their feet. He also mentions that the rebels carried off silver from the pantry as well as robes and many fine things that had been in the family for generations. Dunbar adds that "the rebels did not, to his remembrance, leave a whole window in the house." Some of them told him that they had done this because Lord Findlater "was a Whig, and a rebel and had joined the Duke of Cumberland, and that if they had him they would —— and then with an angry face, weitched their swords, and gave dashes on the table therewith."

Janet Guthrie, servant to Lord Findlater, deposed that the rebels lived riotously in Cullen House for several weeks, and that even their servants had strong ale and sugar at breakfast! On one occasion a man came to the "Woman House" in the middle of the night demanding the keys of the cellar, and, not being given them, "he roared most terribly, and frightened one of the servant women so much that she jumped out of the window, and injured herself so terribly that the deponent believes she never will recover her strength, so as to walk or work." It appears that Janet Guthrie was in bed when the rebels came on the morning of the 8th April, and when they knocked at the gate the servant maid, who

was lying with her, thought it was friends, but from "the rudeness of the knocks" the deponent "soon perceived it was enemies, and when they arose they saw the court filled with horses and horsemen, and heard them say they would burn the house." Major Glascoe obliged the housekeeper to give him some candles, adding with grim humour that "it would be a dismal house by and bye."

Jean Dalrymple, housekeeper to Lord Findlater, stated that about one o'clock on the morning of 8th April there was a loud knocking at the gate, which at first she was glad to hear, hoping that it was an advance party of Cumberland's horse, but "she soon found her mistake." Shortly afterwards Major Glascoe entered and compelled her to open all the "chests, trunks and presses, where was a vast deal of my Lord's effects under her custody, and viewing them all he said it would be a sad night to this house." Apparently Major Glascoe then went downstairs and sent up some men, who packed up and carried off some of the above mentioned articles "before the deponent's face." Jean Dalrymple adds that the rest of her evidence was gleaned from looking through a window! She observed with dismay that the rebels pulled down "my Lady's bed curtains." After they were gone she came out of her hiding hole and observed "the hideous destruction they had made, and that they had carried off a vast deal of new linen and dornock webs, and a vast deal of good and fine body clothes of my Lord's and Lord Deskford's, and my Lady Findlater's, and her laces and cambrics." Jean Dalrymple adds that "though in some houses she has seen some particular fine things, yet she never saw a house so completely and plentifully furnished with all sorts of genteel, useful, and substantial good things, and she had seen some of the best furnished houses in Scotland, and had served in them, being a south country woman!" With a note of contemptuous pity her evidence continues:—"A great

party came the next morning pretty early and took what they found among the broken rubbish. And another party came, as she understood, returning from Portsoy from pillaging meal from my Lord's granary, went through the house likewise the same day, and, as they had little to take, carried off several books from the remains of the library. The house was extremely well provided in sugar and tea, coffee beans and spiceries in great quantities and that all was carried off." She asked the reason of this and was told that "not only my Lord had not paid the levy money, but he had joined the Duke of Cumberland, and was over zealous in the service of the present government." It is hoped that the trusty housekeeper was satisfied with this explanation.

William Reid, Lord Findlater's cook, furnished still more dramatic evidence. He asserted that he was in Cullen House during the whole time the rebels were there and he drew a nice distinction between the behaviour of the various Jacobites, stating that some of the parties were milder than others. Some persons "used deponent very ill," holding cocked pistols at him and others threatening to cut off his ears. Being, as he expressed it, "very ill liked by the rebel party," he fled from the house by a back passage and remained on the sea coast for two days, only returning thence when he was perfectly sure that all the Jacobites had gone.

George Nicolson, Lord Findlater's gardener, who went to Aberdeen to inform his Lordship of affairs at Cullen and returned with the letter which proved so obnoxious to the Jacobites, said that on the morning of 8th April he had taken shelter in one of the rooms of the house with John Dunbar, a Baillie of Cullen. The rebels were then walking about the house and he heard them say to one another:—"Part fair." They found Nicolson and stripped him "of his clothes, and carried off the shirts which were on him, and picked his

pockets, and carried off what gold and silver they found about him." He stated that he had locked the Charter Room door two or three days before the plundering took place, and had buried the key "so as nobody knew of it but himself and Baillie John Dunbar." As soon as he was able, Nicolson went to meet Cumberland's army at Turriff, where he saw Lord Findlater and told him what had happened at Cullen.

Baillie John Dunbar, who subsequently acted as guide to Cumberland's army from Cullen to Fochabers, gave evidence that after hearing threats to burn Cullen House, George Nicolson and he carried two sacks full of papers to the beehouse in the garden and also much linen and valuables to the Charter Room. On the rebels breaking into the latter, many of these articles were destroyed.

John Fraser, grieve at Cullen, said that Alexander Grant having gone away when he heard the rebels were coming, the deponent was left to look after all matters at the farm and had been instructed to keep the doors of the barns shut, but the rebels broke them open and stole horses and forage. He asked them "why they put all the burden of the country upon Lord Findlater," and they replied that "he had joined the Duke of Cumberland, and was particularly zealous against them, and they would take nothing from anybody else while they could be served with his effects, and it was highly reasonable their Prince's army should by him [*sic*] and some of them added that my Lord deserved to be hanged, drawn and quartered."

It is curious to note how vindictive the Jacobites seem to have been against Lord Findlater, nor is the reason clear, for he was not more enthusiastic in support of the Government than his neighbour, Lord Braco, who had also joined Cumberland at Aberdeen, and, like Lord Findlater, had given money to the Hanoverian troops,

yet *his* tenants were not very harshly treated nor was the half-finished Duff House attacked nor Rothiemay House, where he generally lived.

The "Big Bridge," alluded to in the evidence, is that which now spans the Cullen Burn to the west of the house. It was built from the designs of William Adam, being completed in 1744, and a marble tablet was inserted on the north side in commemoration of its erection by Lord Findlater. Some marks are still to be seen on the slab and it is traditionally recorded that they were made by the Jacobites, who first attempted to remove the slab, and, failing in this, injured it with a hammer. Tradition also asserts that the holes on the smaller bridge, leading over the burn, which carried the old high road of the 18th century, were worn by the Highlanders in sharpening their dirks and claymores.

The Duke of Cumberland has often been blamed for the length of his stay in Aberdeen—a period of six weeks—but he had a shrewd idea of the condition of the Jacobite forces in the north, their shortage of food, money and munitions, and knew that time was on his side. He was also training his troops in methods of dealing with the Highlanders, that they might, as he himself phrased it, "efface the little stain of Falkirk."[1]

On the 9th March he had written to the Duke of Newcastle:—

"The Pretender's son is come to Elgin and is at present very ill there.

I have written to Lord Loudon to order him to come to join me at Peterhead with all his Highlanders, which

[1] Add. MSS., Brit. Museum.

I hope he will do and as soon as the great fall of snow which fell last week is a little run off we shall move from hence. The day before the Pretender's arrival at Elgin some person unknown to us was shipped off in a little fisher vessel at Portsoy, and as that little harbour is still in their possession, it is possible the young man may attempt his escape there, finding the bad state of his affairs. . . . At this very time the whole of our Infantry is within the town of Old and New Aberdeen.

I am extremely concerned that every dispatch of mine must be filled with repeated complaints of the dissafection of this part of His Majesty's dominions, but so it is, that tho' His Majesty has a considerable and formidable army in the heart of their country they cannot help giving impotent marks of their ill will, by making efforts to raise men and to set prisoners at liberty." (P.R.O.)

On 7th April Bisset describes the hurry and excitement in anticipation of the Duke's marching from Aberdeen, and states that 15 regiments were there. He writes on 8th April:—

"This day the Duke marched hence, men, artillery, baggage; two regiments the Inverurie road and all the rest with the Duke the Old Meldrum Road. Some men are left here and more are expected."

Bisset's account is not wholly favourable as to the behaviour of the King's troops in Aberdeen, and he says that the conduct of the Jacobite soldiers while in the city was better than that of the English army. He mentions the great rejoicings in Aberdeen on 15th April, the Duke of Cumberland's birthday, and says that "our militia are very vigilant and upon honour, and as they who judge such matters say, on the Duke's birth day, fired better than the regulars."

Cumberland's army was divided into four divisions, two of which had left Aberdeen previously, the first under Lord Albemarle was at Strathbogie on 7th and remained

there till 11th, when it proceeded to Cullen to join Cumberland. The second division was at Old Meldrum on 7th April, at Turriff the next day, on the 9th at Banff, where it remained two nights, and reached the camp at Cullen on 11th. Lord Sempill commanded the fourth division, which left Aberdeen on the same day as Cumberland, but taking a different route by Inverurie, Turriff and Portsoy also reached Cullen on 11th. Cumberland with the third division left on 8th April, marching out of the city by the Bridge of Balgownie. The "Volunteer" describes this bridge as "consisting of one immense Arch of Stone, springing from two rocks, one on each side, which serve as a Butment to the Arch, so that it may be said to have a foundation coequal with Nature, and will last as long." Old Meldrum was reached on the night of the 8th, and there the army quartered. Either on his way from Aberdeen at this time or at a later date Cumberland caused the old Castle of Balquhain, belonging to Anthony, Count Leslie, to be burnt to the ground. Starting early the next morning, Cumberland and his army passed by way of Fyvie, Auchterless, Turriff and King-Edward to Banff, which was reached on the evening of the 9th.

James Ray, the "Volunteer" so often quoted, describes Turriff as "a miserable small town, built upon irregular ground, but had fine streams of chrystal water and presented us with an extensive prospect." He adds that the chief business there, as at Old Meldrum, is the making of stockings. Continuing his account, Ray says "from Turref, after riding eight miles over a moderate hilly and plentiful country, and good roads having also a sight of several gentlemen's seats,[1] but at a distance, we arrived at Banff, a royal burgh, the first sea port town we came to after leaving Aberdeen, and situated at

[1]These were Delgaty Castle and Craigston, both near Turriff.

the mouth of the River Deveron, which we were obliged to ford."

In W. B. Blaikie's "Origins of the Forty-Five," it is related that "the Duke of Cumberland endeared himself to his troops by walking most of the way and never going out of the way on account of any stream but he always waded straight through it." This was well known to be the custom of Prince Charles, and possibly the Duke thought he might obtain popularity by adopting the methods of his cousin. It is interesting to note that late in life, also like Prince Charles, the Duke became so corpulent that he could hardly walk.

The army reached Banff on 9th April; as there was at that date no bridge, part of the army was conveyed across the river Deveron in such boats as could be collected, whilst the rest waded through at the King's Ford.

Ray describes Banff as "a neat town, consisting of two long streets and several short ones; there is also some neat buildings in it, and two small harbours for shipping, but large vessels cannot come near them. There is the ruins of an old Castle at the head of the town, and also a Market Cross just by it. About a mile from the town is a good salmon fisheing upon the Deveron, and from the sea you have plenty of all sorts of sea fish." He concludes with an unkind statement:—"the town, I believe, lives chiefly by smuggling," adding that most of the seaport towns in Scotland did the same. In the Banff Town Council Minutes for 11th August, 1744, it is recorded that the Magistrates of Banff "takeing into our serious consideration the distinctive practice of smuggling prohibited and uncustomed goods, particularly brandy and tea, and the many fatal consequences attending that pernicious unlawful trade," resolved to suppress the same by all legal methods, as well as by their own example and to

"discourage the immoderate use of tea, and all forraign commodities."[1]

On entering Banff the Duke of Cumberland gave the army a day's rest and took up his quarters in the Old Lodging of the Earls of Airlie, as Duff House was not then completed, whilst the troops were encamped in the grounds about it. Here Lord Braco, who accompanied the Duke on his march, gave £250 of drink money to the soldiers. It seems a little ironical that in return some of the soldiers or camp followers stole the entire store of potatoes carefully laid up by Lord Braco's gardener, Thomas Reid.

Whilst the Government troops were in Banff, two alleged spies were taken and executed. One named Alexander Kinnaird (from Culvie, in the parish of Marnoch) being found with a stick notched (or seen notching it) in a way supposed to take account of the boats passing the river with the troops, was assumed to be a spy and immediately hanged on a tree in the town. (An old ash tree on the east side of the drive, just after entering the main gates leading to Duff House used to be pointed out to the present writers, in their youth, as the place of execution.) The other spy was taken at Boyndie, a short distance from the town, and, no tree being handy, he was hanged on the roof of a house with the following inscription fixed on his breast:—

All you that does pass by
Take warning by me, a Rebel Spy.[2]

[1]Lord President Forbes denounced tea-drinking as a "positive vice in itself."

[2]This is recorded by Ray, who adds that "this, with the addition of *good entertainment*, might have been a very famous sign." Besides writing his "History of the Rebellion" and the "Letters of a Volunteer," Ray also compiled "The Acts of the Rebels—written by an Egyptian," a kind of biblical parody of the doings of the Jacobites during the Rising. One extract may be given. "Now the weapons of the rebel army were muskets and pistols and back swords and targets and Durks and bagpipes—Bagpipes that bloody and inhuman weapon which caused the strong and antient city of Carlisle to surrender."

Natives of the district who knew both these men, affirmed that they had scarcely wit enough to do their own business, far less to play the spy. There is an item in the Banff Town Account for 10th April, 1746: "by Cash to the Town's officer for burying a spy, that was execute, 24s."

The only other event which signalised the stay of the Duke of Cumberland in Banff was the total destruction of the Episcopal Church. The roof was taken off, the seats, books, pulpit and altar were burnt, also all the old registers, and the organ broken up. This was the constant practice of the Royal army as it marched along.

That Banff had to face considerable expense on account of the presence of the Hanoverian forces is shown by some further extracts from the Town Accounts:—"10th April 1746, by 32 lb. candle to his R. Highness the Duke of Cumberland's guards—April 15th, by cash to the soldiers to drink, being the Duke's birthday £12 12s.—by cash to drummers 18/-, by 1 lb. of white candle for illuminating the Town House 6/6, by 7 stone coals for the bonfire at the Cross and 2 stone brunt in the Council House 13/6."

Cumberland's forces, consisting of 7,200 men besides 200 militia, set out from Banff on the morning of 11th April and marched by Boyndie and the Boyne to Portsoy, where General Bland from Strathbogie with his men and three battalions under Brigadier Mordaunt from Old Meldrum joined them. Ray describes the march:—

"After leaving Banff we travel along the sea coast and have fine views of the rising mountains near the Firth of Cromartie. We journeyed those 6 miles when we came to Port Soya (Portsoy), a pretty enough village, the sea coming full into the town- and a beautiful spring mount close to the mouth of the harbour, which after we had ascended with some difficulty, were rewarded for our

labour, by a most beautiful and extensive prospect, both over the sea and the adjacent country. From Port Soya is three miles to Cullen."

Pushing on from Portsoy they reached Cullen in the afternoon; and the whole force being too large to be accommodated in the town, the foot encamped on some ploughed fields outside, while the horse quartered in Cullen. The remainder of the army which had marched from Aberdeen by a different route joined Cumberland here. During this day's march the army, keeping near the shore, was closely accompanied by the fleet. At Cullen Lord Findlater, who, with his wife, had come from Aberdeen with the Duke, made a present of 200 guineas to the Government forces, possibly in order to emulate Lord Braco's gift at Banff of £250. In Cumberland's General Orders, issued at Cullen on 11th April, there is this entry:—"The Earl of Findlater having shown great loyalty and zeal for his Majesty, as well as regard to the troops by his late present, H.R.H. orders that no waste or damage be committ'd on his estate on any account."

Ray thus describes the place:—

"Cullen is a small town consisting of one street, at the entrance of which is a fine seat belonging to the Earl of Findlater, but had been plundered by the rebels. Here the people are well effected to the government."[1]

It must be remembered that Ray is here referring to the *old* town of Cullen, which was then close to Cullen House on its eastern side and not to the modern town which lies nearer to the sea. The removal of the ancient town of Cullen to a new site was carried out by the Curator-at-law to the 5th Earl of Seafield during the years

[1]An English officer, who accompanied the Hanoverian army, relates that at Cullen "the kirkyard was full of rebel horses that had been captured."

1820 to 1830, the house properties having been bought at various times on behalf of the Earl.

At Cullen House the Duke was lodged by Lady Findlater in the room which had suffered most from the Jacobite pillaging of three days earlier, in order to prove how much damage had been done and to induce redress. It is not recorded what effect was produced on the Duke's mind on viewing the scene of desolation, but it may be assumed that the plundering of the house of one of his most zealous supporters possibly furnished some explanation of his later proceedings. He evidently made some inquiry into the matter on the spot, for Lieutenant-Colonel David Watson, Quartermaster-General for North Britain, reported that when at Cullen "he went through several rooms and saw furniture broke and destroyed, and presses, trunks, or other lockfast places broke open, and locks broke off the doors, and several other marks of violence and desolation." David Bruce, Judge-Advocate for Scotland, declared that he heard Lord Findlater say "*he* was willing to risk his all in the service of the government, but on the night the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Cullen House, the Countess of Findlater applied to His Royal Highness to desire that he would please order certain persons to inspect Cullen House and he did appoint Sir Everard Faulconer, his secretary, and the deponent, to inspect Cullen House and make a report, which he said he would lay before His Majesty."

In 1753 Lord Findlater presented a Petition to the King detailing how faithful he had been to the Government:—

"On the breaking out of the unnatural Rebellion in Scotland in the year 1745 and during the whole course thereof, your petitioner the Earl constantly and invariably did every thing in his power to dissuade and prevent all persons over whom he had any influence from joining

in it, so much that out of above Six thousand persons inhabitants on your petitioner's estates, only one tenant and four or five mean people joined the Rebels notwithstanding your petitioner's estates were on several sides surrounded by rebellious districts."

He then describes the sacking of Cullen House, and states that it would have been burnt but for the timely arrival of the Duke of Cumberland and that he incurred damage to the value of £8,000. He suggests that he might obtain redress by being given the forfeited estates of Lord John Drummond, or at least have some monetary compensation, but there is reason to believe he obtained none.

The next day (12th April) the Hanoverian army marched from Cullen through the Enzie towards Fochabers. The Duke's advance from Aberdeen had been so rapid that the Jacobites, who had thought it would be a considerable time before he could reach the Spey, were taken by surprise. The Duke of Perth, his brother Lord John Drummond, Colonel John Roy Stuart and several others were then living in the house of the minister of Speymouth and had with them about 2,000 men. That morning they were sitting peacefully after breakfast, little thinking of the danger so near, when a man who had crossed the Spey hastily informed them that "the Enzie was all in a vermine of Red Quites (i.e., a swarm of red coats)! They declared that such a thing was impossible and, when the man insisted, they went to a small hill and, noticing something in the distance, they scoffingly said it was only muck-heaps! Their informant said that they might possibly be correct, but that for his part he had never before seen muck-heaps moving. When he had succeeded in convincing them that some men were approaching, they turned it aside by remarking that it was probably only General Bland's advance parties, till they were rudely awakened to their

danger by the return of their cavalry, sent over the Spey to reconnoitre, who informed them that the whole army under the Duke of Cumberland was rapidly advancing. Several Aberdeenshire lairds, who were confident that it was impossible for the Duke to move through the county without their being informed of it, were, nevertheless, within an ace of being surprised drinking in a gentleman's house in the Enzie by the Government's advance guard, which was within a few miles of them before they had the least notice of it. This want of intelligence had very bad consequences, for those who guarded the Spey were compelled to march off in a hurry and leave the way open for the enemy."[1]

Ray further describes the country through which Cumberland's army marched. "After leaving Cullen," he says, "we pass by some large barren mountains on our left and then again pretty good land till we come to Forcabus (Fochabers)," which town he describes as lying in a hollow close to the Spey, "and chiefly consists of one long street, a mile long, but the generality of the houses are very mean and scattering. The chief ornament of this place is Gordon Castle, situated just by the Spey side and was formerly called the Bog of Gight, the noblest palace in the north."

The Duke's army did not stop at Fochabers but crossed the Spey the same day with the loss of one dragoon and 4 women, who were drowned. The crossing was effected at three places, at Garmouth, Gordon Castle and close to the church of Bellie. The easy crossing of the Spey by the Government troops amazed every body who knew how deep and rapid is that river, for though it was possible to ford it at certain places yet a little opposition might easily have thrown the army into confusion, and the Jacobite leaders were

[1] "Origins of the Forty-Five."

much blamed for lightly abandoning such an excellent natural line of defence.[1] After crossing the river the Duke of Cumberland took up his quarters in the minister's house at Speymouth, where the Duke of Perth and other prominent Jacobites had been but a few hours before. From the camp at Speymouth on 12th April was issued the following order:—"Lord Braco being so generous as to give 1½ guinea per troop and company, it will be given to the commanding officers to be divided amongst the men. The army being on Lord Braco's estate to committ no waste or damage there." Yet in spite of the above order, Lord Braco's Moravshire lands did suffer considerably, as is shown in a Memorial from him to the Lord Advocate of the 5th March, 1747:—

"Upon the 12 and 13 dayes of Aprile 1746 the King's Army under the command of his Royall Highness the Duke of Cumberland was quartered on Lord Braco's lands on the west side of the Spey and his other adjacent grounds; the tenants of those lands were during that time so vexed by the depredations of the army that scarce any of them was able to toill or sow their gardens. His Royall Highness was so sensible of the losses the poor men sustained that he gave fvfty guineas to the minister to be distributed amongst them and desired that a particular account of those losses might be made out.

Accordingly the whole tennants compeared before three of the Justices of the Peace of the county of Murray and deponed upon the particular losses sustained by each of them, and the judiciall procedure whereof, with a particular account of saide losses in a peaper apairt, are herewith sent to justice their claim and the fvfty guineas given by His Royall Highness is deducted from the claim. It is therefore hoped that the

[1]Cumberland himself wrote from Speymouth on 13th April:—"It is a very lucky thing we had to do with such an enemy, for it would be a most difficult undertaking to pass this river before an enemy who should know how to take advantage of the situation." (P.R.O.)

Lord Advocate will make proper application to the Secretary at war or otherwayes for giving the poor people some pairt of the losses sustained by them."

With the crossing of the Spey by Cumberland's army the account of military events in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire should end, but the happenings of the few remaining days before the disaster of Culloden may be briefly noted.

The Jacobites retreated hastily through Elgin to Forres and thence to Nairn, which was reached on 13th April, and went on to Culloden the next day. The King's army pushed on from Speymouth, and, passing through Elgin, reached Alves on the evening of the 13th. Nairn was reached on 14th and there the army rested on 15th, that being the Duke's birthday. The men were allowed extra rations of food and drink to celebrate the event, and it was this circumstance which led the Jacobites to make the ill-advised attempt of a night attack at Nairn, which, by exhausting the already wearied soldiers, was one of the deciding factors in the rout of Culloden. The Jacobite army remained at Culloden on 14th April, and, after the ineffective night attack of 15th, the weary army marched back there, and early in the morning, the Government forces having advanced, Prince Charles (against the judgment of Lord George Murray and the Highland chiefs) determined to fight. The battle began at one o'clock, and in twenty-five minutes the Prince's forces were defeated on Culloden Moor.

It is not necessary to go into details of the battle except to mention the great superiority in numbers of the Government forces. Cumberland had at least 8,500 men (probably more), with three cavalry regiments and

numerous artillery; whilst Prince Charles' army amounted at that time, approximately, to 5,000 men present in the action, 16 guns and a very few cavalry. Most of the men were tired and hungry after the fruitless march to Nairn, and nearly a third of the force had wandered away to look for food! Cumberland's troops outflanked the Prince's right, and when the clan regiments broke through the English front line they were practically blown to pieces by the artillery! Then the whole army gave way and the defeat was complete. There were present—as spectators—from Banffshire, Lord Braco, Lord *and* Lady Findlater and William Munro, a merchant of Banff, who testified that "he helped my Lady Findlater to go up the hill to the field of Battle."

Bishop Forbes, in "The Lyon in Mourning," mentions a rumour that Lady Findlater subsequently drove over the field of battle. He gives as his authority Ronald Macdonald of Bellfinlay, whose own words were:—

"I can assure you that in the afternoon of the day of the battle, after that Cumberland and his army had marched from the field into Inverness, and I was lying on the field stripped of all my cloaths, I saw a coach and 6 driving over the field towards Inverness and approaching so near the spot where I was lying that I begun to be afraid they would drive over my naked body, which made me stir a little and look up, and then in their passing I saw ladies in the coach, but I dare not say from my own proper knowledge that it was the Countess of Findlater's coach. Only I heard afterwards that the Countess of Findlater's coach was the only one that had been there at that time, so that I have it only by report that it was her coach which I saw driving over the field of battle and which came so near me, that the coachman made a lick at me with his whip as if I had been a dog. However I suffered no harm by it, for the point of the lash touched my head but slightly."

The following is a contemporary account of the battle of Culloden written from Aberdeen. It is not known who the writer was, but the letter was addressed to Dr. Mead. Some of the statements are inaccurate, especially as regards the number of the Jacobite troops and the deaths of the Duke of Perth and of Cameron of Lochiel:—

"Aberdeen, April the 21st, 1746.

Sir,

Tho' the joyful news of the compleat victory gained over the Rebels by His R.H. the Duke of Cumberland must have reach'd you a much nearer way: yet I hope the following relation from the compared accounts of three Gentlemen, present in the Action, will not be disagreeable to you.

On Wednesday morning the Rebels march'd from Inverness 9232 men: and form'd upon a rising ground about four miles south to that Town, and three of Culloden, the country seat of the Lord President of the Session. They were led by the young Pretender in person, the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, and Cameron of Loch-yell. His R.H. the Duke was marching westward with the army from Nairn, in order to cut off their passage to the mountains, whither he apprehended they wod fly on his approach. But hearing they were come to meet him and formed, he halted, put his troops in order of Battle, and advanced within a mile of the Enemy; expecting they wou'd come down and attack. They kept the ground and the Duke marched slowly up a marshy ascent, the cannon following with difficulty; and made a second halt when he came to the top in full view of the Rebels. They did not stir even then: but, the Duke still advancing, their cannon began to play: which, being ill pointed and served, killed but five or six men. His Highness's cannon being at last come up, began to pour grape shot upon the Rebels: which put them in some disorder; yet they stood it full twenty minutes; and His Majesty's army still advancing, they received them with a Ruff and a fire running along the line, that did little execution. But the Camerons,

Mcdonalds and Mckintoshes immediately threw away their musquets, and broke in with great fierceness, sword in hand, upon Barrel's Regiment in the Duke's left. That gallant regiment opened and received them between two fires: Lord Semple's Battalion, next in ye line, wheeled and enclosed them; a scene of carnage ensued: for they discharged with the muzzles of their guns at the Rebels breasts, and stabbed em in the back with their Bayonets till they cut them off to a man. Some old military men said they never saw Corpses lye so thick, nor a field so strew'd with Officers, as that was after the Battle. Meantime the main and left of the Rebels received the first fire of the Duke's Army without reeling, though it thinned their Ranks (it was by Platoons): but upon the second, they fell into disorder, broke and fled with the utmost percipitation. The cannonading lasted, as I said, twenty minutes, and the whole Action near an hour: the Pursuit continued till night. Little quarter given, and great slaughter made by ye Campbells and Duke of Kingston's light horse in revenge for their Comrades surprized and butchered in the village of Keith some time before. There were 2,500 left upon the field of Battle, 2,000 taken Prisoners; and the number of those killed in the pursuit is uncertain. The Duke of Perth being wounded and unable to fly, fell upon his own sword. His brother Ld. John Drummond, Mr. Cameron of Loch-yell (worthy of a better fate), McDonald of Keppoch, and most of the Northern Gentlemen are among the slain. A Person of distinction, attended by several Officers, being shot through the thigh, had retired to a cottage, whither a detachment was sent to bring him to Inverness Thursday night. The Duke, our young hero, exposed himself to a fault: had his hat shot thro', as it is said, and was riding along the Line in the hottest of the fire. He is covered with glory, and just adored by the Army. Such a victory has cost but 100 men killed, and as many or more wounded. Lord Robt. Carr, the Nereus of the Army, and the brave accomplish'd Lieut. Coll. Rich, are both dead; the first in the field, the other of his wounds. And now welcome Law, Liberty and Peace; blessings

whose value we knew not, and shall, I'm afraid, too soon forget.

I am, Sir,

Your most obliged faithfull Servant,

T. Blackwell."

No actual mention is made in Bisset's Diary of the receipt of the news of Culloden in Aberdeen, but on 18th April he remarks that the town was then very quiet and "our houses free of strangers." Next day he says that that morning they had received a "more favourable account" of the battle of Culloden.

In the *London Gazette* for Thursday, 24th April, 1746, there appears:—"Whitehall. This morning the Rt. Hon. Lord Bury, Aide-de-Camp to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, arrived with a letter from Inverness, dated April 16th, giving an account of the victory over the rebels." Apparently Lord Bury went by sea from Inverness to Berwick, and only *thence* by road to save time!

It seems that after Culloden, Lord Braco and Lord Findlater gave more money to the troops, though there is no record of the amount, but William Baird of Auchmedden said that Braco's generosity was aroused "merely that he might with more freedom ask protection for the houses, cattle, horses and other effects of any of his friends and relations who had the misfortune to be engaged; and indeed both he and his lady exerted their utmost efforts to save all that they could from being plundered or harrassed." William Baird must have written this with real feeling, as he himself was among the unfortunate Jacobites whom his brother-in-law, Lord Braco, subsequently protected.

Of Lord Findlater it is recorded that at Inverness on 17th April (the day after Culloden) "the Earl of Findlater gives eight guineas to the Argyleshire men, which he had omitted before: his Lordship gives likewise 12 guineas to the men that were wounded yesterday in the battle, which is to be laid out by the surgeons of the Hospital in providing to them."

After Culloden garrisons were stationed in various parts of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, and parties of troops were sent through the two counties in search of rebels. In some cases directions were given to plunder and burn the houses, but less severity was shewn here than in the Highlands. Lord Ancrum, who commanded the Government troops on the east coast of Scotland, issued the following order:—

"Whereas arms have been found in several houses, contrary to his Royal Highness the Duke's proclamation, this is therefore to give notice, that where-ever arms of any kind are found, that the house, and all houses, belonging to the proprietor or his tenants, shall be immediately burnt to ashes; and that as some arms have been found under ground, that if any shall be discovered for the future, the adjacent houses and fields shall be immediately laid waste and destroyed."

This order was not universally carried out, and practically no houses of importance in Banffshire were destroyed, though at one or two, notably Park, troops were stationed for some time in the hope that the owner might unadvisedly return. Glenbucket's house at St. Bridget was burnt, the house of Blairfindy, Donald Farquharson's of Auchriachan, some small houses at Glenconglass, that of James Gordon, younger, of Aberlour, and that of an innkeeper in the Cabrach, but with these exceptions no destruction of private property occurred in Banffshire. Several places of worship in the county were burnt; among others the Roman Catholic

Chapel at Shenval in the Cabrach and the chapel of Tombae, the priest of which went "out" as chaplain to the Glenlivet contingent under Gordon of Glenbucket; but the greatest loss to the Catholic faith was the total destruction of the little college of Scalan in the Braes of Glenlivet, which was burnt in May, 1746.

In Aberdeenshire the chief houses destroyed were Monaltrie, Auchindryne, Auchinhove, Auchintoul, Blelack, Kincardine Mill, and, as already stated, the old Castle of Balquhain.

The various Jacobite lairds in the two counties either "lurked" near their homes, or took to the hills, and when an opportunity came made their way out of the country to France or Holland. Several hid themselves successfully until the Act of Indemnity of 1747 granted pardon to all except such as were specially debarred from its benefits.

The following letter from Sir James Grant, M.P. for the Elgin Burghs, to his daughter, Lady Braco, at Rothiemay, shows how the news of the defeat of Prince Charles was received in England:—

"London, 24 Aprile 1746.

Dr. Jeanie,

The express come this morning from his Royal Highness the Duke, makes me hope that this letter will come safe to you. I heartily congratulate you on the good account of the entyr defeat of the Rebells. I hope this will finde my Lord Braco you and the young ffamily well. If once all were quite settled I have some thoughts of being in the north if it were but for twenty dayes time. The plundering and barbarity committed by the Rebells must noe doubt make the country look generally very miserable and I am much affrayed that the destruction of the corn and grain will produce bad effects. I am, dear Jeanie

Your very affect. father,

Ja. Grant.

This is writt in the Speaker's Chamber; where his Majesty affords no better paper (tho great plenty of it) than this."

In another letter, dated from London, 7th June, 1746, from Sir James Grant to Lady Braco, he writes:—

"I do most sincerely lament the miserable situation of some of our country men and particularly some of them we are more nearly concerned with, but as they have brought ruine upon themselves by there own doeings, all we can doe, is to be most heartily sorry for, and commisserat there condition. It is a sadd view the outter ruine of themselves and innocent posterity. I much commend what you have done as to your daughter Jenny.[1] God help and comfort her. I am told the Lords prisoners in the Tower will be tryed in Westminster Hall, and all think they can't escape suffering, as I doubt not severall taken prisoners will in other parts. God be thanked that now that cursed design of the Rebellion seems to be at ane end, I hope the like shall never be attempted for the future. I am sorry to see that Carnousie[2] and Abbachy[3] had concern in it."

A letter from James Colquhoun[4] to "the Right Honourable the Lord Braco at Rothiemay," refers to the plundering of Cullen House:—

"Rosedoe (Rossdhu), 29 July, 1746.

My dear Lord,

I had the pleasure of your Lordship's favour upon Wednesday last, and gives my wife and me great

[1]Janet, second daughter of Lord and Lady Braco, married Sir William Gordon of Park. See page 277.

[2]Arthur Gordon of Carnousie. See page 205.

[3]John Gordon of Avochie. See page 238.

[4]The writer of this letter, James Colquhoun of Luss, subsequently created a Baronet, was the 4th son of Sir James Grant or Colquhoun. He married Helen, daughter of William, Lord Strathnaver. Lord Strathnaver was in charge of the garrison of the Castle of Urquhart sometime after the '45, and was responsible for blowing up with gunpowder the drawbridge towers, which can still be seen—very solid pieces of masonry.

satisfaction to hear that your Lordship, my sister[1] and family are in perfect health as thank God we are all here. I wrote you twice after I came home, but supposes they shared the same fate with those I wrote my brother,[2] by falling into the hands of the Rebells. I hope none of your Lordship's houses met with such narrow inspection as I hear our friend the Earle of Findlater's did—how ever my lady may be well satisfyed that those lawless people allowed her bridge to stand. I'm sure it would have greatly afflicted honest Mr. Adams had any accident befell it after the pains he bestow'd. I am sorry to hear that Carnousie was so ambitious of military title as to loose the earthen middens for it. I wish his friend W——dhse[3] has not had a hand in advising him.

I am, my dear Lord,
Yr. Lordship's most faithfull humble servant,
JA. COLQUHOUN."

Except for temporary disturbances from the small bodies of Government troops, Aberdeenshire and Banffshire soon settled down to their ordinary affairs, and from various Kirk Session Records it may be gathered that the Established Church rejoiced heartily at the complete overthrow of Prince Charles.

The Kirk Session of Fordyce, Banffshire, 20th April, 1746, puts on record that "a Thanksgiving was intimate by order of the Synod for the prospect of deliverance from the oppression of the rebels."

From the same Kirk Session on 25th May:—"Proclamation read this day from the Duke of Cumberland, and a letter from the Lord Justice Clerk, relating to the discovery of rebels. The Minister took advice of the Elders and warned them to be upon their guard.

[1]Jean Grant, wife of William, Lord Braco.

[2]Ludovick Grant of Grant.

[3]"W——dhse" probably refers to Arthur Gordon of Law and Wardhouse, who married Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of George Gordon of Carnousie, and sister of Arthur Gordon.

They also gave an account of the several rebels that had gone out of this parish."

The Kirk Session of Deskford, 23rd April, 1746, ordained a "Thanksgiving for the glorious victory over the rebels at Culloden, 16th April, where numbers of the rebel army were slain and a complete victory obtained."

The Kirk Session of Cullen, 23rd April, 1746, strikes a somewhat more doubtful note:—"A day of thanksgiving appointed by the Synod for the goodness of the season and the *prospect* of the present rebellion being soon extinguished"; followed on 26th June by "a day of thanksgiving appointed by the King for our late happy deliverance."

Cumberland's birthday (15th April) had been celebrated in Aberdeen, when the bells were rung, salutes fired by volunteers before the Town House, houses illuminated and the healths of the King and the Duke of Cumberland were drunk. On 18th April, when the news of Culloden reached the city, there was a public rejoicing.

In the Aberdeen Session Records for 20th April, 1746, is the following entry:—

"Intimation was made from the pulpit that the Synod of Aberdeen at their last meeting appointed Wednesday next to be observed as a Fast Day but (in regard to the Victory obtain'd since that time by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland over the Rebels) it was thought proper, that the said day be observed as a Day of Thanks-giving, and the Congregation were exhorted to abstain from their ordinary employments and spend the day in a religious manner, and to attend publick worship, at the ordinary time both fore and afternoon."

A second Thanksgiving was held by appointment of the General Assembly on 26th June.

Very shortly after Culloden, the hunt for the many fugitive Jacobites began, and Aberdeen took its share in this pursuit. Bisset writes in his Diary for 23rd April,

1746:—"Our Militia are upon honour, very alert, taking up the rebels as they return here. Our prison is like to be soon crowded. I believe the poor fellows who went out from this place expected not such a handling on their return." In the Burgh Records for 1st May is the statement that "our prison is full of a Vermine of Canalle," and on the 23rd of the same month the Governors of Aberdeen reported to the Judge-Advocate that the Tolbooth was full, and that owing to the heat the prisoners "are in a dismal condition." The Governors of Aberdeen wrote on 5th May:—"Our Volunteers are fond to tell you that they beheave very well and delight in expeditions for catching the rebels."

On 13th May a Proclamation was read at the Market Cross from the Duke of Cumberland with regard to the apprehending of rebels and warning people against concealing them. The ministers were ordered to give accounts of the behaviour of their parishioners during the recent events, and were further directed to forward to the authorities any information which they possessed regarding the homes and haunts of any of the Jacobites who might be lurking in their respective parishes. Bisset at this date remarks that the "rebellion appears to be effectually quelled," but he also mentions that "many of the rebels are going about in the habite of beggars." One wonders if he supplied a full account of the behaviour of his own parishioners. Later in the year many of the prisoners in the Aberdeen Tolbooth were sent to Carlisle for trial, while others were shipped to London.

That occasional injustice was meted out even to convinced Whigs is shewn by the hard case of Alex. Marr, flesher, Aberdeen. He appears in Lord Rosebery's List as "a Rebel" and as "Having kept guard for the rebels

the night of Inverurie skirmish—now a prisoner in Aberdeen." But the true facts, revealed at his trial (of which the account is still among the State Papers), were as follows:—

On the 25th of March, 1747, Mr. David Verner, Professor of Philosophy in Marischal College, together with the deacons and conveners of all the trades of Aberdeen, presented a petition setting forth that "Alexander Marr (now a prisoner in Carlisle on suspicion) had attended to his lawful business during the whole time of the Rebellion, nor did ever speak or act against our happy constitution. Only on the night of Inverurie skirmish he had gone to the guardroom at Aberdeen to *get payment from some of the rebel sergeants of what they were due him for meat and drink,* and was detained there ane hour and a half while they were at their supper, and for this he was afterwards taken prisoner and afterwards sent to Carlisle. He has now been absent from his family about *these 11 months* and has a wife and 4 infant children all in a miserable and starving condition." He was eventually discharged.

There had been many complaints of the exactions of the Jacobites during the Rising, but less attention has been drawn to the demands of the triumphant Government officials after Culloden, and, illustrating these, there is one letter at Drummuir. (The Government party must, one would think, have found but little provision left to commandeer.) It is addressed "To Mr. Harie Milne, at Mill of Towie, factor for Drummuir." Dated from Portsoy on 10th May, 1746, it runs:—

"Sir—

There being a demand for a large quantity of meal for the use of the armie at Inverness, which I am employed to buy, I have sent you this day by express, desiring you'll order in to me here on Tuesday next, two

hundred bolls of meal of the farms of Drummuir, for which I am to pay ten merks per boll in July next. I am ordered to intimate to all noblemen and gentlemen in this county that unless this demand is emediately complyed with, a Regmt. of men will be sent to take the meal for nothing, and to pillage the houses of those who refuse; so I will expect your ready complyance and am, Your most humble servant,

ALEXR. BREBNER."[1]

The exceptions to the Act of Indemnity of 1747 were very numerous. Besides all persons attainted of high treason by verdict, confession or otherwise, over 80 persons were specially exempted by name. Amongst these *one-third* are from our two counties! From Aberdeenshire there were:—Patrick Byres of Tonley, Charles Cumming of Kininmonth, William Cumming, younger, of Pitullie, James Farquharson of Balmoral, John Fullarton, younger, of Dudwick, Francis Gordon of Kincardine Mill, George Gordon of Hallhead, James Gordon of Cobairdy, John Gordon of Avochie, Robert Gordon, younger, of Logie, Alexander Irvine of Drum, Gilbert Menzies, younger, of Pitfodels, Thomas Mercer, merchant, Aberdeen, James Moir of Stoneywood, William Moir of Lonmay, Alexander Ogilvie of Auchiries, David Smith of Inveramsay, Donald Smith, merchant, Aberdeen, Alexander Thomson of Faichfield, John Turner, younger, of Turnerhall, and Alexander White, younger, of Ardlawhill.

From Banffshire the excepted were:—Sir William Dunbar of Durn, Arthur Gordon of Carnousie, James Gordon of Glasterim, Lord Lewis Gordon (Gordon Castle at that date being in Banffshire), Sir William Gordon of Park and Andrew Hay of Rannes.

[1]Who Alexander Brebner was is not known, but the methods described in this letter seem neither better nor worse than those employed by the Jacobites!

Extreme measures were threatened against those who harboured Jacobites or were even suspected of doing so, yet, in spite of this, many were protected and secreted by the kind-hearted inhabitants of the two counties. The following letter, not hitherto published, sheds some fresh light on the way Lord Ancrum dealt with such matters:—

Lord Ancrum to Sir Everard Fawkener.

"June 23, 1746.

I am persuaded that there is hardly one inhabitant of this country that would not rather conceal a rebel than inform us of them. Some examples that I have made of the houses that harbour rebels, have made 'em cautious of receiving them.

I must tell you what happened yesterday, to a man that had been represented to me as one of the best affected men here viz. Burnet of Kemnay. I overheard him tell a Gentleman that a non-juring Clergyman in his house had said that he would not administer the Sacrament to any one who would hear King George prayed for. You may believe that I immediately insisted to know his name. Mr. Burnet said that he could not betray a man that had been under his roof. I treated it, I hope, properly at the time, and as soon as he had gone out of the house, wrote him a billet-doux which brought him to me in two hours, trembling, not able hardly to speak, more than to beg ten thousand pardons and to tell me the Rascal's name and place of abode. I shall endeavour to administer a bitter cup to him (the Clergyman)." (P.R.O.)

George Burnett of Kemnay, above mentioned, was born 1714, married (1) Helen, daughter of Sir Alexander Burnett, Baronet, of Leys. (2) Janet, daughter of James Dyce of Disblair. He died 31st October, 1780. He had resisted the Jacobite levies of cess, and his estate being somewhat out of the way, he had managed to escape when they arrived to capture him. "The Origins of the Forty-Five" says of him:—

"Mr. Burnet's zeal for our constitution, and the endeavours he used to awaken the British spirit among his neighbours, had rendered him excessively obnoxious to the Rebels. They hunted him for some weeks from place to place, to seize him, but he at length got to Edinburgh, where he was obliged to stay till his Royal Highness marched for Aberdeen."

It appears that he was badly treated by the Government troops after his return to that city, and shared the common unpleasant experiences of "Trimmers."

Another Aberdeenshire laird who was attached to the Hanoverian Government was John Horn of Westhall, advocate. He, like Burnett of Kemnay, refused to obey the Jacobite demand for cess and succeeded in avoiding payment altogether. But he was more energetic than most of the other Aberdeenshire Whig lairds, for he endeavoured to raise his tenants and get them to accompany the MacLeods when they were advancing to relieve Aberdeen in December, 1745. As he could not provide them with guns he had a number of spears with iron heads made for their use. But, in spite of promises and threats, the Westhall tenants refused to follow their laird. John Horn sent an express to MacLeod to request the loan of a party for the purpose of forcing his men to join, but the messenger only arrived in time to meet the defeated MacLeods retreating from Inverurie! The "Origins of the Forty-Five" gives a further account of what the laird of Westhall suffered in consequence of his support of the Government, and heads it "Mr. Horn stress'd."—"As the Rebels were informed of Mr. Horn's design of joining the McLeods, they were exceeding keen in their resentment against him, and immediately sent a party to seize him, but he luckily had gone out of the way. The party lived a good while at his house (Westhall) at free quarters and made very free with everything, demanding the arms he had made, and the

Cess Levy money, but Mr. Horn had left positive orders, though they should burn the house, to give them neither, and as their officers had by this time got pretty certain information that their affairs were wrong in England and their Prince retreating, they did not choose in these circumstances, to do such a shocking thing. And it was certainly a lucky thing that they got this intelligence to calm them after the flush of their Inverury victory, or the Fire Order had undoubtedly been put in execution in these counties."

Lord Ancrum had been made Commander-in-Chief of the district between the Tay and the Spey, and he despatched parties of troops to hunt for Jacobites along the coast to prevent their escaping abroad, whilst other bodies of soldiers were sent to Strathbogie and garrisons established at various places on Deeside and Upper Donside. Several houses in these districts were plundered and some were burnt, also a few in the Buchan neighbourhood, but on the whole the general order to burn houses belonging to Jacobites was not carried out in the north-east of Scotland. No houses were burnt or plundered in Aberdeen, but the Hanoverian soldiers behaved very arrogantly in that city and caused a good deal of ill-feeling. A riot took place in Aberdeen on the night of 1st August, the anniversary accession of the Hanoverian dynasty. On this occasion orders had been issued by Lord Ancrum that all the houses should be illuminated and the bells rung. Some misunderstanding arose as, though the bells were rung, the houses were not lit up and the soldiers of Fleming's regiment broke windows, stoned the Aberdonians and did damage to the amount of £130. As a result of this, Ancrum was rebuked by Albemarle and removed from the command at Aberdeen.

Whilst in Aberdeen in March, according to the Burgh Records, the Duke of Cumberland "did them the

honour of accepting the freedom of the city." In July, 1746, the Town Council agreed "that the freedom of the city should be renewed to the Duke and that his burgess ticket should be presented his Royal Highness in a gold box of the best fashion and recommends to the Magistrates to cause make the said gold box, and extend the ticket, in the genteelest form."

In the same month the Town Council "deleted the names of all persons made burghers by the Jacobites out of the burgess book."

Gradually both in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire things calmed down, and after the passing of the Act of Indemnity the two counties settled into a new era of peace and subsequent prosperity.

The "Volunteer" (James Ray) gives one or two instances of renewed plenty observed by him even in the Spring of 1746.

In an anonymous letter to Albemarle, one of his spies says:—"Coming through the North East of Scotland in January (1747) the people have such plenty of money that they have raised the price of the whiskey from 12 to 18 and 20 shillings, and also the meat to a very high price. The people of Strathbogie are all at home, labouring their grounds, but as much disposed for rebellion as ever, had they the opportunity. There is little or none of the town of Inverurie inhabited, the people having been killed or absconding. Tho' the people of Aberdeenshire are all quiet at home yet it's believed they are in readiness to embrace a rebellion, and are expecting a landing in the Spring." (P.R.O.)

On the whole, "the Nor' East," though it had played so stout a part in supporting the Prince, fortunately for itself suffered much less than the actual

Highlands from Cumberland's merciless harrying. This circumstance, as much as any other, has tended to obscure the extent of the support given to the Rising by our two counties. One explanation, possibly, lies in the fact that Cumberland's troops, having *already* passed through this country, tended to go forward, as it seemed to them, through the Western Highlands on their punitive expeditions.

Even a year and a-half after the date of Culloden, there still seems to have been a good deal of Jacobite spirit abroad in the district.

Major Chambers writes from Aberdeen to General Humphrey Bland:—

"15th December 1747.

By accounts I receive from Buchan, I hear that the Jacobites are in high spirits and very bussie, but are so numerous and the friends of the Government so few that our officers can't get any certain intelligence. . . . I am sorry to say I find that very few of them seem inclined to give me Intelligence. Just now I have a piece of news, which is lately arrived and prevails among the Jacobites in a private way. It is that there is a treaty of marriage on Foot and will shortly be concluded and declared between the Pretender's eldest son and Princess Amelia of Prussia,[1] and that General Keith who is in the Prussian service, is to do something considerable in Scotland, in favour of this alliance." (P.R.O.)

But Prince Charles Edward did not ally himself with a Prussian Princess. It was not until he was a man of fifty-two and his days of romance were over, that he married Louise of Stolberg and the union was unhappy.

In his 60th year we have a brief and unforgettable vignette of him in a letter of Horace Mann from Florence. "I am told," he says, "that this poor visionary man always kept and still has under his bed, a

[1]Daughter of Frederick the Great.

strong box with 12,000 sequins, for the expenses of his journey to England whenever he shall suddenly be called thither." It is pathetic to realise that after all these years of disappointment and failure, Prince Charles still cherished the hope of an ultimate restoration to the throne of his ancestors.

Hopeman
Lossiemouth
Duffus
Spynie Loch
Findhorn
ELGIN
Leuchars
Innes
Brodie
Tannachy
Forres
Blervie
Broom of Moy
Pluscarden
Miltoun
Speymouth
Orton
R. Spey
R. Lossie
R. Findhorn
MORAY
Farskane
Cullen
Birkenbog
Glassaugh
Portsoy
Boyne Cas.
Buckie
Craighead
Cairnfield
Glasterim
Rannes
Arradoull
Letterfourie
Fordyce
Deskford
Bog o Gight
(Gordon Castle)
Skeith
Cornhill
Inchdrewer
Deveron
Edingight
Knock
Park Ho.
Mountblairy
Braco
Grange
Ardmeallie
Forgle
Keith
Kinnairdy
Mulben
Crombie
Carnousie
Auchlunkart
Birkenburn
Ardbreck
Auchingoul
Rothiemay
Mayen
Bognie
Cobairdy
R. Yt
Aberlour
Craigellachie
Drummuir
Cairnwhelp
Avochie
Ballintomb
Knockando
Balvenie
Dunbennan
Lessendrum
Dufftown
Glass
Huntly
Keithmore
Mortlach
Aswanley
Gartly
Inveraven
Auchindown
Beldorny
Hill of Foudland
Ballindalloch
Tamore
Succoth
Fiddich
R. Bogie
R. Spey
Deskie
Lesmurdie
Leith Hall
Warehouse
Shenval
Noth
Cromdale
Lesmoir
Dunnideer
Kennethmont
Balnaton
Blairfindy
Glenlivet
Avon
Rhynie
Kirkmichael
Cabrach
Premnay
Auchlichnie
Fodderletter
Conglass
Castle Forbe
Croughly
Terpersie
Tombraec
Tomintoul
Kildrummy
Ardhuncart
R. Don
Auchriachan
Brux
Alford
Whitehouse
Glenbucket
Glenkindie
Tonley
Gaulrig
Auchnaky
Newe
Tough
Strathdon
Hallhead
Torbain
Inverernan
Craigievar
Allargue
Corse
Skellater
Corgarff
Tarland
Auchinhove
Lumphanan
Campfield
Bielack
Balnacraig
Glengairn
Coull
Tilphoudie
Monaltrie
Aboyne
Ballater
Crathie
Pannanich
Glentanar
Invercauld
Balmoral
Aucholzie
Mar Castle
Braemar
R. Dee
KINCARDINE
SCALE
0
5
10
15

PART II.

Of over 250 Jacobites from Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, it has been possible to compile brief biographies. They follow in alphabetical order, save that sons are grouped under their fathers, and younger brothers usually under the elder and better known.

Abercromby, James.

In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels, this man is described as "Farmer, Skeith, Banff, Captain, assisted in collecting the Revenue for the Rebels and gave them intelligence of arms. Lurking," and further on also as being of "Deskford." It has not been possible to discover any other details as to James Abercromby's career, but he probably laid down his arms, and, under the Act of Indemnity of 1747, may have returned to his farm.

Abercromby of Skeith was a cadet branch of the Abercrombies of Birkenbog, who are now represented by Sir George Abercromby of Forglen.

In 1721 Alexander Abercromby of Skeith sold his lands to the Earl of Findlater, so that after this date the Abercrombies ceased to have any proprietary rights in Skeith and the lands remain the property of the Seafield family to this day. James Abercromby was a tenant "in" Skeith after the lands had been sold. He married Elspeth Ord, whose father was a merchant in Cullen.

Aberdeen, William, Merchant, Old Aberdeen.

In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels he appears as "Vintiner, Old Aberdeen, Old Machar. Acted as a Quartermaster in the Rebel army. Lurking." It is curious that the Supervisor of Excise at Aberdeen, who compiled the Rebel List in the autumn of 1746, did not know that poor Aberdeen did not "lurk" at all, as he was

foully murdered in the town of Inverness by some English soldiers on the very day of the battle of Culloden. Apparently he had been seized with a violent fever whilst lodging in the house of Widow Davidson, in a retired quarter of Inverness, and was so ill that he could not take part in the battle though every Stuart partisan was so urgently called upon. Several English soldiers, coming in the afternoon to Mrs. Davidson's house, the maid told them that there was a rebel there, upon which they rushed upstairs, broke into the room where the poor man lay in bed, and cut his throat from ear to ear! The inventory of William Aberdeen's estate was given up in 1749, and his widow, Ann Dalgarno, claimed £339 4s. 11d. under marriage-contract provision.

Abernethy, Alexander, was a farmer at Tipperty, Banff.

He became a captain in the Duke of Perth's regiment. After Prince Charles' retreat from Derby he was one of the unfortunate men left to hold Carlisle, which was besieged by Cumberland from the 21st to the 30th December, when the white flag was hung out and the whole garrison (of about 400 men) was taken. As has already been stated, of the 256 Scots 83 men came from Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, and 12 out of the 18 Scots officers were from the same two counties.

The wretched prisoners were at first herded in the churches of Carlisle, without even straw to lie on. Major-General Howard reports that "there are 349 in the Cathedral alone, that 4 or 5 are dead and a plague will be the consequence if they be not removed. The county also think it hard they should have to provide the bread and water; they look on them as Prisoners of the Public." Orders were subsequently sent down from London and some semblance of decency restored. The "common men" were removed to the gaols of Lancaster, York and other neighbouring towns, and the officers taken to London, 2nd February, 1746, but were not brought to trial till some time after the suppression of the Jacobite Rising (between June and November 1746).

Alexander Abernethy was first arraigned in June before the Lord Chief Justice Lee, when he is described as a surgeon, and presented a petition from "his miserable wife and four young children." He was brought up for trial on 22nd July, when he pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason, but begged the Jury to recommend him to mercy; he was, however, condemned to be hanged on 30th July, and only on the day before was he reprieved for three weeks, which grace was extended on 18th August for three weeks, and 9th September for six weeks more. He petitioned to be allowed to go to the Colonies, but this was not permitted, although he was removed to the Marshalsea, sometimes a preliminary to "pardon on conditions." Nothing more is heard of him until 19th January, 1747, when the "Scots Magazine" states that "Alexander Abernethie, who was sentenced on July 22, 1746, and has since been reprieved from time to time with the rest, is dead."

James Ray, in his "History of the Rebellion of 1745," says that in approaching the town of Banff on his way north, "I past by Dr. Abernethy's house who was made prisoner at Carlisle, and as I have been informed since, was condemned to die at London, but reprieved for a time, during which he fell sick and died."

Abernethy, George, "A merchant and Magistrate at Banff. He was Captain in Lord Ogilvy's regiment and very active in collecting money for the Jacobites." (Rosebery.)

It can be fairly assumed that George Abernethy was the "brother to James Abernethy of Mayen" mentioned in W. B. Blaikie's "Origins of the Forty-Five," though there is no absolute proof. He was certainly a gentleman of good family, about forty years of age, occupied a prominent position and had a good house in Banff, of which he was a Baillie. (His brother was John Abernethy of Corskie.) George joined the Jacobite army in September, 1745, but not until he was forced to do so. Before this he had been exercising his office of Magistrate on the side of the Government, as it was proved at his trial that he had protected Captain Rogers,

a forerunner of Cope's army,[1] and enabled him to avoid capture by the Jacobites, having also furnished Cope himself with carriages and horses at Banff on 6th September. After Cope's army had marched away, a large party of Jacobites came to Abernethy's house and carried him off as a prisoner to Strathbogie (Huntly), considerable force being used. A witness at the trial states "they would not let his wife see him and told her to go away or else they would fire her house. He was carried off prisoner, upon a horse without a saddle, although he and his wife offered all they had, if the rebels would leave him. He cried out most vehemently and had no arms or whip. One Highlander led the horse and another drove him." He thereupon seems to have decided to throw in his lot with the Prince's cause, went to Edinburgh and accepted a commission, first in Glenbucket's regiment and afterwards in Lord Ogilvy's. He was present at Prestonpans and accompanied the army on its march to Derby and back. He then had the misfortune to be selected as one of the garrison to be left in Carlisle, being the senior captain under Hamilton, and was one of the 43 officer prisoners carried to London on 2nd February, 1746, after the fall of that city on 30th December, 1745. 19 were English, 7 French and 18 Scots, 12 of these latter being, as has been said, from Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. The guard, which sounds excessive, was 16 officers, 16 sergeants, 11 drummers and 327 rank and file, under Major Adams. Abernethy was lodged in the New Gaol, Southwark, and his trial did not come on until October. Prior to that date, his friends in the north were active in drawing up petitions, and he himself asked for various witnesses to be sent for, viz., James Lowrie, shoemaker, Banff, John Pyott of Cairnie (his own servant) and James Rainy in the town of Banff, labourer, who had known him for twenty-four years. (*Baga de Secretis.*[2]) Curiously enough the subpœna served on the last named, and the pass issued to bring

[1]Rogers was hastening to Aberdeen to hire transports to enable Cope's army to return to the south.

[2]P.R.O.

him to London, were found among the papers of the Rev. Robert Leith (brother of Leith of Collithie, "taken" on board ship a year later), and are in the Record Office. The subpœna directs James Rainy "Personally to appear before his Majesties Justices and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery of the County of Surrey, Friday the 25 day of July next at eight of the Clock in the forenoon of the same day, at the court to be holden at the Town hall within the borough of Southwark in the said County of Surrey, there to testify the truth between our Sovereign Lord the King and George Abernethie for high treason on the part of the defendant, and this you are not to omit upon pain of one hundred pounds, Dated the 18 day of June in the twentieth year of our Sovereign Lord, George the second, by the Grace of God etc. in the year of our Lord 1746."

The Pass is issued by the Governors of the city of Aberdeen appointed by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, to "Permit the bearer James Rannay in Ruthven of Cairnie to pass from this place to several places in the country without any trouble or molestation, he behaving himself as becometh. Given at Aberdeen the 14th day of June 1746. To all whom it may concern."

JOHN AULDJO.
WILLAIM GORDON, Junr.

Abernethy's trial was postponed until 22nd October, and, meantime, a long petition in his favour had been presented, signed by the whole Town Council of Banff, and another on behalf of "George Abernethie, late merchant in Banff, now in Southwark, always reputed a person of good character, probity and of a peaceful disposition and well esteemed in the County," signed by nine ministers of the neighbourhood and all the freeholders (i.e., the voters) of the county, beginning with Lord Braco. (P.R.O.) The witnesses for the Crown stated that Abernethy was a prominent officer in the garrison of Carlisle, presided over a Court-martial there, and was commissary of stores. The accounts for beef bought for the garrison on 14th December, 1745, still exist and are signed "George Abernethie." Other

witnesses testified to his presence with the Jacobite army as an officer in Glenbucket's regiment on the march from Dalkeith to Carlisle. The defence was founded firstly upon his services to Cope,[1] already mentioned, and then on the force used to induce him to join the Jacobite army. The ever active John Vere, the spy, who had dogged the Highland army from Edinburgh, and had then been a prisoner in Carlisle, testified to the high position in the councils of the rebels occupied by the prisoner. The Chief Justice, in summing up, showed that even if force had been initially exerted to bring Abernethy into the Jacobite cause, he had since been a convinced adherent and most useful to it, and that "overt acts of high treason" had been proved against him. He was therefore condemned to death on 15th November with the other officers of the Carlisle garrison and 28th November was appointed for the execution. As the jury had recommended him to mercy (or else on account of the numerous petitions in his favour), a reprieve was granted and he was removed to the Marshalsea prison, where the French prisoners-of-war were kept and where the conditions were less barbarous than in the New Gaol. On 16th December it was directed that he be removed to the house of James Cleverly, messenger, where the rigours of imprisonment were still further modified. On 3rd April, 1747, he petitioned for "liberty to go into the country for the benefit of fresh air, as, unless he does so, he will not live long to benefit by the King's Clemency." (P.R.O.) He is stated to be "in a Consumption," and on 27th April he died and was buried in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, Westminster.

In 1747 his wife, Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of John Forbes of Boyndlie, claimed, upon his forfeited estate, her life-rent of a house in Banff. This house had been leased from Mrs. Abernethy for two years at £200 Scots (£16 13s. 4d.) by Alexander Duff of Hatton, but he was unable to obtain possession of it because it was being used for six months after Culloden as a hospital or infirmary for some of Cumberland's soldiers and

[1]Cope himself was called as a witness but disclaimed any *personal* knowledge of Abernethy.

subsequently as a lodging for the officers of Lord Ancrum's regiment.

It does not appear that Mrs. Abernethy ever recovered her rent, "the Barons of the forfeited estates" holding that the deed of gift to her was not valid, "as being granted after 24th June, 1745, in the very heart of the rebellion," and the four shillings weekly, paid by Lord Ancrum's regiment, was claimed by and assigned to them.

An undated list of rebels in the Record Office describes George Abernethy as "a younger son of a gentleman of small fortune. Is chearful, good-natured and an agreeable companion." In Lord Findlater's peculiar handwriting is added the note "but adroit, and much fixed in Jacobitism," so possibly Abernethy's early civilities to Cope were only of the nature of time-serving.

Adamson, James, Gardener at Drum.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is entered as "Gardner, Drum, Drumoack, Aberdeen. Carried arms with the Rebells in England and at the Battle of Falkirk, from whence he carried off a good deal of plunder. Lurking." He is also given as one of the evidences against his master, Alexander Irvine of Drum! John A. Henderson says that "the foregoing is the charge laid against Adamson, who appears to have benefited substantially from his espousal of the Jacobite cause and not being sufficiently remarkable to be exempted from the amnesty, was soon enabled to attend to his own affairs." Besides the loot which he acquired after Falkirk, it is believed that he did not return altogether empty-handed from Culloden, for in Forbes-Leslie's "Irvines of Drum" we read that Adamson "lived respected and prosperous, and one source of his prosperity is believed to have been in a portmanteau heavy with 'horse nails,' which he contrived to bring home, notwithstanding the difficulty and danger he incurred as a fugitive from Culloden." His neighbours were probably not far wrong when they alleged that what he called "horse nails" was, in reality, a very satisfactory collection of "spuilzie" (spoil).

Alexander, John, Painter.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is given as "Picture Drawer, Aberdeen. Carried arms with the Rebells in England." He was the grandson of George Jamesone, "The Scottish Vandyck," whose daughter Marjory married John Alexander, advocate, Edinburgh, and John Alexander, the artist, born about 1690, was their son. In 1718 he went to Rome to study and to practise the arts of engraving and painting, being among the earliest of the Scottish artists who went abroad for that purpose. It is said that in 1712 he spent some time in Florence at the Court of Cosmo de Medici, to whom he dedicated a series of six etched engravings after Raphael. On his return in 1720 he painted several historical pictures, and was employed for some time at Gordon Castle; amongst other works done by him there being a staircase painted with scenes from the Rape of Proserpine. John Alexander engraved the portrait of his grandfather, George Jamesone, painted by himself in 1623, and inscribed it "Alexr. pronepos, fecit acqua forte A.D. 1728." In 1729 John Alexander appears in the list of members of the Academy of St. Luke, in Edinburgh. Some years later he is known to have been in Edinburgh, as James Ferguson, the astronomer, took "a letter of introduction from Lord Pitsligo to Mr. John Alexander, a painter in Edinburgh, who allowed me to pass an hour every day at his work-house to copy from his drawings with the view to becoming an artist." Portraits by John Alexander are fairly numerous; there is one in the collection of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon of Lord Lewis Gordon of the '45 painted in 1738 and signed.

John Alexander is said to have died in 1760, one of his latest works being a portrait of George Murdoch, signed "Alexander, pingebat, 1757."

It is not known what part he took in the Rising of 1745, probably not a very active one, as he was about fifty-five years old when Prince Charles landed, but he was possibly persuaded to join by Lord Pitsligo, with whom he was friendly.

John Alexander married and had at least one son, Cosmo John (q.v.).

Alexander, Cosmo John, Painter.

Like his father, John Alexander, he is described in the Rebel List as a "Picture drawer, Aberdeen," being there called "Cosmos." He was born in 1724, as a copy of George Jamesone's portrait of George Keith, 5th Earl Marischal, has inscribed on the back of it:—"A Prototypg. George Jameson, Depict. Cosmus Joan. Alexr. pinxit a.d. 1742 Aetatis suae 18 ." It is probable that Cosmo went to Italy after the Rising of 1745, as portraits painted there about that date are signed by him: but he had returned before 1754, when James Gibbs, another Aberdonian (the architect of the Radcliffe Library, Oxford, and the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields), who died that year, made him his heir.

Many of Cosmo Alexander's pictures are to be found in the houses of the north of Scotland; he also copied some of Jamesone's works and possibly restored others. Several of the pictures by other artists in the collection of James, 2nd Lord Fife, were extensively restored by Cosmo Alexander, who even went so far as to sign his own name to them! He painted portraits in Edinburgh during the middle of the eighteenth century and in 1765 held an exhibition there. In 1766 he became a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists in London as well as of the Guild of Painters at the Hague. Shortly after this he visited America, where he painted portraits at Rhode Island and then returned to Edinburgh. He was elected F.S.A. about 1771, and is said to have died in 1772.

No record exists of his military activities in the '45, but in 1746 the dancing-master spy, Jean Baptiste Froment, gave in information against "Mr. Alexander a painter at Aberdeen who was in the Rebellion. His son lives in town and knows where his father is. I also saw two Gentlemen at Mr. Alexander's in this town, who I have frequently seen in the rebellion and have been in their company several times. The aforesaid Mr. Alexander knows their names and where they stay." (P.R.O.)

Neither father nor son, however, was apprehended.

Anderson, Alexander, of Tynet.

The only details to be gathered about him are in Lord Rosebery's "List of Rebels," where he is described as the "Laird of Tynet, Tynet, Banff. Ensign, Lurking." The site of his house is that triangular piece of ground with a low wall, on the road from Cullen to Fochabers—just opposite Tynet Mill, close also to the Burn of Tynet, which now forms the march between Banffshire and Morayshire, and at the present day the site of Anderson's house is in Morayshire, but until recent years the western boundary of Banffshire was in great part formed by the river Spey.

In spite of careful search nothing is known as to what became of Anderson. In a list in the Record Office of "some persons of distinction who were officers in the Rebel Army and who will escape punishment if there is not a second Bill of Attainder, as they have either made their escape beyond Seas or are lurking in Scotland till they can with safety appear and take possession of their estates," appears "Alexander Anderson of Tynet," and against his name is written "Lord Findlater can say nothing positively, but believes Tynet was in the Rebellion." He was, however, neither attainted nor excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747, as were 27 lairds and younger sons from Aberdeenshire and Banffshire.

Anderson, John, younger, of Greens.

David Stuart, the Supervisor of Excise at Aberdeen, mentions him as being "Younger of Greens, Aberdeen. A Volunteer," and that it was not known where he was at the time of making up the List of Rebels in the autumn of 1746. John Anderson, last of Greens, a small property near Turriff, was the eldest son of John Anderson and his wife, Margaret Forbes, only daughter and heiress of James Forbes of Greens, a family which had owned that property for 100 years. Nothing is known of the part played by John Anderson in the Rising; he was 25 years old when it broke out, but his father died in 1749 aged 80, and John probably returned

to his home after the passing of the Act of Indemnity in 1747. In 1753 his sister, Margaret, married, at Auchterless, Alexander Farquharson of Auchindryne, in the parish of Braemar. John Anderson died unmarried 4th October, 1767, aged 47, and was succeeded by his sister, Margaret, who, in 1779, consented to the sale of Greens in order to pay the debts of her husband, Alexander Farquharson, contracted since her marriage.

John Anderson of Greens was one of those to whom Cumberland drew attention as being "rebells still at large and having good estates." The annual value of Greens is given as £100. (P.R.O.)

Arbuthnot, Thomas, senior, Merchant, Peterhead.

There is a very full entry concerning him in Lord Rosebery's List. He is there described as living in Peterhead and as "Merchant and Factor to some lands here belonging to the Maiden Hospital at Edinburgh. He accepted of a Factory from the Rebels upon the estate which Marischal forfeited in the year 1715, by virtue whereof he called in the Tenents and uplifted some of the farms for the Rebels and exerted himself to the utmost of his power in their service." Thomas Arbuthnot was the eldest son of Nathaniel Arbuthnot in Auchlee, Longside, and Elspeth Duncan his wife. In "Henderson's Epitaphs" it is stated that he was "factor for Earl Marischal and Baillie on the barony of Peterhead. From his long tenure of the last appointment he became known as The Old Baillie." He assisted the old Chevalier on his landing at Peterhead on 25th December, 1715, and arranged for his being safely lodged in the Longate. It is surprising to learn that after the collapse of the '15 his services as local factor and Baron-Baillie were retained. In the '45 he gave his support to Prince Charles, though he was too old (sixty-four) to be very active in the field. He married Christian Young, daughter of William Young, merchant, Peterhead, and had 2 sons (1) James, (2) Thomas, a ship captain,[1] and 5 daughters, one of whom married Thomas

[1]See page 126.

Arbuthnot, merchant and landowner in Peterhead, who was one of the witnesses against his father-in-law, but the latter was evidently not prosecuted! Baillie Thomas Arbuthnot, according to his tombstone at Peterhead, died on the 24th March, 1762, aged 81, and his wife, Christian Young, on 8th February, 1740, aged 55

Arbuthnot, Thomas, junior.

In the List of Rebels he is described as "Sailor, Peterhead. Went out to the Rebellion 1st October 1745." He was the second son of the preceding, Baillie Thomas Arbuthnot. According to Dr. J. F. Tocher, young Thomas was originally a midshipman in the Navy, but deserted to join the Jacobites at the age of 18. He fought as a Lieutenant at Culloden, afterwards escaping to France and subsequently commanded his own ship in the West Indian and American trade. He is said to have received a free pardon in 1752. He returned to Scotland, settled as a ship-owner at Peterhead, and married his cousin, Margaret Arbuthnot, eldest daughter of James Arbuthnot of Rora, by whom he had 3 sons and 2 daughters. He died at Peterhead, 1st December, 1773, aged 46.

Baird, William, of Auchmedden.

Was born in 1701 and married in 1721, Anne, daughter of William Duff of Dipple, thus becoming brother-in-law of William, Lord Braco, afterwards 1st Lord Fife. William Baird went "out" with the Jacobites in 1745, but he did not take a very active part in the Rising. He was made Deputy-Lieutenant and Governor of Banffshire under Lord Lewis Gordon and confined himself to his duties in connection with the administration of the county affairs. After Culloden he was obliged to remain for several years in concealment, finding shelter first at his brother-in-law's house at Echt, afterwards at St. Andrews and finally in Aberdeen; though his estate was not confiscated, he got into difficulties from pecuniary obligations undertaken for the Stuarts, and was compelled to sell it in 1750 to Lord Haddo, eldest son of Lord Aberdeen. There is now no

house of Auchmedden, but about half a mile from the village of Pennan the site may still be traced.

In a letter to Ludovick Grant of Grant (his wife's brother), dated 25th May, 1746, Lord Braco says:—"You'l doe me a great favour if you'l apply for a protection for my poor sister, Lady Auchmedden." William Baird died in 1775, aged 74, and was buried in the Churchyard of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, in the same grave with his wife, Anne Duff, who died in 1773. They had six sons and four daughters—all of whom died without issue, except Henrietta (the youngest), who married Francis Fraser of Findrack, Aberdeenshire. In a list drawn up by the Duke of Cumberland in 1746 of rebels who held property, the rental of Auchmedden is given as £300.

Baird, William, Silk Dyer, Aberdeen.

"Was, according to the return of rebels in Aberdeen, one of the first who declared for Prince Charles in that town, and his particular offence seems to have been that he assisted in unloading a Spanish ship at Peterhead in January 1746."[1] This vessel had arrived there with a supply of French arms for the Jacobites; a quick landing was most important and was safely accomplished. There is no further account of Baird's services, and it seems probable that he never left Aberdeenshire, for in a letter to Sir Everard Fawkener from the Town Council of that city, dated 14th April, 1746, the following passage occurs:—"William Baird, silk dyer in Aberdeen, who was in some tumultous affairs in this Town during the Rebellion, surrendered himself and was examined and ordered to be imprisoned till His Royal Highness pleasure be known." He was placed in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, and was certainly still there in the month of May, as his declaration appears in a list of prisoners forwarded to the Lord Justice Clerk at that time. It runs:—"William Baird, Silkdyer in Aberdeen, confesses that he putt a white cockade in his hatt, and joyned James Moir of Stonnywood and other rebels when

[1] See page 49.

they entered the Town, and made a parade with them down the streets about 20th Sept. 1745, and was at the house of George Gordon, Merch. in Abdn., demanding arms in the Pretender's name. He alleadges he surrendered himself in terms of the D. of Cumberland's proclamation."

The latter plea does not, however, seem to have benefited him, for in the "History of the Trials of the Rebels," by G. W. Wilkinson, it is stated that at Carlisle on 27th September, 1746, William Baird was found guilty, but was not executed.

He was the first wool merchant in Aberdeen to introduce the use of machinery in his business. At considerable expense he obtained two carding engines from Rochdale, which proved of great use.

Bannerman, Sir Alexander, Bart. of Elsick.

Strictly speaking Sir Alexander should not appear in this list, but his ancestors and he himself were so much connected with Aberdeen that his inclusion is thought justifiable. He appears under the return of rebels from the Montrose district as "Sir Alexander Bannerman of Elsick, Fetteresso, Mearns, acted as Lord Lieutenant of the County of Mearns under the Rebels, was active in serving their interest and yet moderate to the County. Lurking." Sir Alexander was the son of Sir Alexander Bannerman, 2nd Baronet, and his wife, Isabella, daughter of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat. He succeeded his father in 1742, and married Isabella, heiress of the Trotters of Horsley, Yorkshire.

He raised a regiment in the Jacobite interest, which was partially recruited from Aberdeen, and was present with it at Culloden. He then fled to France, where he died in 1747 in Paris, having received a "gratification" from the French Government. He had been excepted in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, and, although he was dead, the jury which sat in Edinburgh in 1748 found a True Bill against him. He had been a J.P. for Aberdeenshire, but is crossed off the list for 1747 on account of his "Jacobite opinions." (P.R.O.)

He left two sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Alexander, succeeded him as 4th Baronet and sold Elsick in 1756 to the town of Aberdeen. This estate had descended from father to son in the Bannerman family since 1387.

Brodie, William, in Cottoun, Glenbucket.

Not in Lord Rosebery's List. He was the eldest son of Alastair Brodie and his wife, Jean Morris. He married at Glenbucket, 13th July, 1738, Jean Brebner, and left children. In the '45 he was a sergeant in Glenbucket's regiment. He escaped after Culloden and probably remained in hiding till the Act of Indemnity of 1747. He then seems to have returned to Cottoun, where he lived until 1751 and later removed to Dalfrankie, Glenbucket, where he died in 1776. The Highland brooch he wore at Culloden was for long preserved by Mary Ann Brodie or Gauld (1826-1905), a native of Glenbucket. In 1888 she presented it to the late Mr. Hugh Gordon Lumsden of Clova to be placed in his Museum, where it now remains.

Burnet, John, "Esq., junior, of Campfield, parish of Kincardine, Aberdeenshire. Captain of Artillery in the Rebel Service. Taken prisoner at Carlisle." (Rosebery.)

John Burnet is one of the very rare Jacobites dignified by the title of Esq. in the above list. He is also one of the few prisoners described by Mr. John Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury, among those "who are really Gentlemen." Mr. Sharpe continues:—"John Burnet, Captain, is said to have belonged to the Artillery company at Woolwich, has a small estate of about £20 a year at Campfield and a beneficial lease of a farm from Sir Alex Guthery [*sic*] of Ludquharn in the same county and is said to be worth about £3000 in money. His father was a gentleman in Aberdeenshire and he is generally spoken of as a person that is well esteemed."

He was the eldest son of William Burnet of Campfield, who lived until 1762, and of Anne, daughter of

Sir John Guthrie of King Edward and was baptised in 1716. He was a young man in the '45 and one of the most valuable recruits to the Prince's cause, as being the only thoroughly trained gunner officer.

He married in 1742 Jane, eldest daughter of Harry Lumsden of Cushnie and Clova, and at the time of the Rising had one daughter, three others being born afterwards.

As was the case with a large number of the officers from Aberdeenshire, John Burnet, junior, claimed to have been forced into the Highland army by "Old Glenbucket." He was with the Prince in Edinburgh, marched with him into England and, when the garrison was left in Carlisle in December, 1745, was appointed to the command of the artillery.

After the surrender of 30th December he was carried to London and thrown into Newgate. Before his trial he made application for two witnesses, Alec Leith and Robert Barclay, to be sent for from Aberdeenshire to prove the "force used to make him join the Prince," but they did not appear. At the trial it was proved that he had acted as an officer at Manchester, Derby and other places and during the defence of Carlisle, "wearing a Highland Dress, a Plaid sash and white cockade and a brace of pistols: that he laid the canon fired from Carlisle when Cumberland's army lay before the walls, and that every time they were fired, he pulled off his bonnet, huzza'd and said God bless King James III and Prince Charles"; also that he gave his name, when he surrendered, as "John Burnet of Aberdeenshire, Captain in Colonel Grant's Regiment." The witnesses appearing on his behalf being insufficent, the jury found him guilty, and on 15th November he was sentenced to be hanged on the 28th. At the time of his sentence he had to be carried to the court in a chair, "being very sick," and was shortly afterwards reprieved for six weeks and removed to the Marshalsea. Early in December, 1746, he sent a petition to the Duke of Newcastle in the following terms:—"Your petitioner, by a violent fever of two months continuance, is reduced to the lowest extremity and advanced in a consumption, besides a

defluxion occasioned by his long fever, fallen down in his legs so as he's not capable to move from his bed without assistance and that with the utmost pain; begs to be removed into a Messenger's hands." (P.R.O.)

On 2nd July, 1747, he was moved as he desired to a Messenger's house and on 4th August a pardon was granted to him on "condition of immediately leaving the country and never returning."

On 13th April, 1748, there is an entry that a "Free pardon" has been granted to John Burnet, but apparently the condition of "departing out of the realm" was still attached. In December, 1749, his pardon was still lying in the Privy Seal office, as he had not paid for its "passing."

He went abroad, where, having recovered his health, he became a successful merchant in Holland and is often referred to in the letters of his fellow exile, Andrew Hay of Rannes, who passed some years in that country. Three years after the date of his pardon, he seems to have made terms with the Government and returned to Scotland, for the following advertisement appears in the *Aberdeen Journal* of 5th March, 1751:— "John Burnet of Campfield, merchant, Broadgate, Aberdeen, offers Rice, Lintseed, Groceries etc." In 1762 he succeeded his father in the small estate of Campfield.

Byres, Patrick, of Tonley.

In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels he is described as "Peter Byres of Tonley, Aberdeen. A Captain of the Rebells during the whole Rebellion. Lurking." The condition of his house is given as "pretty good," and his yearly rent as being £70.[1]

Patrick Byres was the second and only surviving son of Robert Byres and his wife, Jean Sandilands, daughter of Patrick Sandilands of Aberdeen. Robert Byres, believed to have sprung from the family of Byres of Coates, Edinburgh, was a merchant, first in the Netherlands, then in Aberdeen and latterly in Dublin, where

[1]But according to a list made for Lord Albermarle and preserved at the Record Office, his yearly rent was £200.

Patrick was born 13th May, 1713. About the time of his birth his father was accidently drowned in Dublin Bay and the widow soon after returned with her children to Aberdeenshire, where, in 1718, she bought Tonley. Patrick married, in 1733, Janet, daughter of James Moir, 3rd of Stoneywood, and his second wife, Jean Abernethy, of Mayen. Being now connected with such zealously Jacobite families as the Moirs and Abernethies, it is not surprising to find that Patrick Byres early joined Prince Charles' army. He was appointed a Major in Stoneywood's regiment and served throughout the campaign. There are two references to him in the Diary of the Rev. John Bisset—one, under date 7th January, 1746, where, in referring to the return of Alexander Ramsay, merchant, Rosehearty, to Aberdeen and his tidings that all was lost in England, Bisset adds that there was "another report, as if Tonlay had written that they had no more army in England." The second reference is on 3rd February:—"Yesterday came in here (Aberdeen) from the south, Lonmay, Tonlay, Robert Sandilands (who later on became Patrick's son-in-law) and Charles Moir." After Culloden, Patrick Byres was for some time concealed in Cluny Castle, Aberdeenshire, by his friend, Gordon of Cluny, until he got an opportunity of escaping to France, where he lived in Paris and was in the regiment of Royal Scots. He wrote many letters from there to his fellow Jacobites in other parts of the continent. When writing to Scotland he signed his letters "Pat. Robertson." On 1st August, 1747, he writes to James Moir in Sweden:—"We have had here copies of ane Act of the British parlt. which they pretend to dignifie wt the title of a Bill of Indemnity, tho' in my opinion, it ought rather to be called a 2nd Bill of Attainder. There are in it 85 Gentlemen excepted, besides those already attainted, of wh. number yr unkle, you and I are three. Besides these 85 Excepted by name, all abroad, all in foreign service, all transported, and all any manner of way concerned in the late rebellion are excepted in one Generall Clause, so that one way or oyr Everybody is Included; tho' as to those not Excepted by name, in my opinion I think they may wt.out any

danger go home—and I was resolved to have done so myself, had I not been Excepted."

Patrick Byres would have lost his estate but his friends interceded for him and pointed out that his name had been entered erroneously in the list as "Peter Byers" instead of Patrick[1] and so, after some years, he was eventually allowed to return to Tonley.

Byres was back in Aberdeen before 21st December, 1763 (which year saw the return of many excepted Jacobites), as he was present on that date when James Abernethy of Mayen killed John Leith of Leith-hall in a duel. It is said that Byres urged Leith to the duel.

Patrick Byres had by his wife, Jean (who died 20th September, 1787, aged 77), 4 sons and 3 daughters, and was succeeded in Tonley by his eldest son, James, who accompanied his father to France, was for some time in Lord Ogilvie's regiment, and lived for 40 years in Rome. James Byres died at Tonley, 3rd September, 1817, in his 84th year.

Charles, James, tailor in Aberdeen.

Private in Stoneywood's regiment, aged 32. Not in Lord Rosebery's List. He was one of the prisoners brought from Scotland to London by Captain Dive of the "Winchester." He turned King's evidence, was then taken out of gaol and lodged in the house of Mr. Dick, Messenger, where he was on 4th June 1747, having as companions young Gordon of Glenbucket, Flora Macdonald and her maid, "Cattren" Macdougall, and 24 others (including six unfortunate men from Orkney who had been brought as "evidences" against Sir James and Lady Stewart of Burray, "and were shut up for a month, without any air)." Confinement in a Messenger's house was decidedly less rigorous than being in gaol; and, for those who could afford to pay for it, private rooms were allotted as far as space served.[2] "The evidences" were lodged at the public expense at 4d. a day, and not always very kindly treated, as is shown by the following:—

[1]The two names are interchangeable in Scotland but not in England.
[2]In any case "not more that 3 or 4 in a room."

To his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

"The humble petition of John Hay,[1] one of the evidences humbly sheweth Jan. 17, 1747, That I, along with fifteen more, was put under the care of Thomas Chandler, one of His Majesties Messengers, from whom we had very bad usage since the 16th July last. We are all bolted up every night, in one room, like so many Hogs without any bedding, save a little straw. Neither did he ever bestow any body-cloths on us of any value and now we are run out of the few we have got. We have been informed that your Grace allowed all suitable necessaries to be furnished us, and we understand that all the other Messengers did Justice in some shape to those under their care, all which emboldened your Grace's petitioner to make my complaint to the Messenger, who instead of removing the Grievance, confin'd one Jas. Ross and me 4 days and nights in a Dark room without Coal or Candle.

Begs therefore to be removed to the house of some other Messenger."

The Petition is thus annotated:—"Note, to be enquired into by Mr. Waite. The Messenger lives at the Blackbull, Windmill St. near the Haymarket."

Some of the Messengers must have made large profits out of their unwilling lodgers. In lists of Treasury disbursements signed by the Duke of Newcastle, such items as the following occur:—

"Messenger's bills, Feb., 1747. Mr. Dick £584 16s. od.; Mr. Nathan Carrington £1,351 11s. 8d.; and Mr. Dick *(again)*, Dec., 1747, £988 8s. 7d."

Aeneas Macdonald, the banker, writes from Newgate, after some months of imprisonment, that he would gladly pay 6s. 8d. a day "out of his own pocket," if he might be removed to a Messenger's house! He had been at Mr. Dick's, but for some reason had been sent back to Newgate, where he describes himself as "eaten up with vermin!"

[1]Who *may* have been the man who gave evidence against Moir of Lonmay, and, therefore, from Aberdeenshire, though there is nothing to prove it.

Clapperton, William.

A ploughboy of 13 in Glenbucket's regiment. He was taken prisoner at Carlisle and was one of those who was removed from the terrible conditions in Carlisle Cathedral, first to York Castle and then to the County Gaol at Lincoln, where additional accommodation was hastily provided for these numerous prisoners. He was "pardoned on account of his youth," but transported to Antigua on the ship "The Veteran" on the 8th of May 1747. He gave his residence as Banff, and his height was 4 feet 11 inches.

Coutts, Peter, Merchant, Aberdeen.

Very little is known about this Aberdonian and his participation in the Jacobite Rising may not have been important, since all the Supervisor's List contains about him is that he "kept guard for the Rebells the night of the Inverury Skirmish and has distinguished himself by talking most disrespectfully of His Majesty." (Rosebery.) At the date of making up the list (November, 1746) it was not known where he was. Possibly he confined his activities to the one incident and was more of a talker than a soldier.

Crichton, James, of Auchingoul.

He was the second son of James Crichton of Auchingoul, who married Margaret Gordon. The elder son appears to have been disinherited and the father died in 1744, so James Crichton entered into possession of his small estate just previous to the landing of Prince Charles. The yearly rent of Auchingoul was £45, and the condition of his house was stated to be "pretty good." His grandfather, George Crichtoun of Auchingoul, assumed the title of Viscount Frendraught (which had been granted to his elder brother), but James, the father of the James Crichton now dealt with, apparently never so described himself. The James now dealt with became a Colonel in the army of Prince Charles, and it is said that he was created Viscount Frendraught[1] by the

[1]There is no mention of James Crichton being made Viscount Frendraught in Ruvigny's "Jacobite Peerage."

Prince in 1745, but this (according to Sir James Balfour Paul) is doubtful. Other authorities state that, like his grandfather, he merely assumed the title to which he had no clear right, as the original patent of 1642 was to the first Lord's direct heirs. A contemporary account states that "Crichton of Auchingoul, a Popish gentleman of a very small estate, but representative of the Viscount Frendraught, raised a company and joined Lord Lewis Gordon."

The Rev. John Bisset writes in October, 1745:—"Crichton of Auchingoul, a papist, in the parish of Forgue, now a Captain in the Duke of Perth's regiment, is here (Aberdeen) recruiting." Whether Crichton took part in the march into England is not stated, but apparently he was back in Aberdeen in February, 1746, for Bisset says:—"I am told that Crichton of Auchingoul is here, now called Viscount Frendraught." In the Kirk Session Record of Essil, under date 22nd February, 1746, there is found:—"Mr. Crichton of Auchingoul, who assumed the title of Viscount Frendraught, came to Germack. The rebells of his Regiment were very unruly and showed little regard to his authority," and from the same source comes the statement that on 2nd March "Several rebells were in church, heard King George prayed for and made no disturbance." Later in the same month James Crichton joined Lord John Drummond's force at Fochabers, for in the "Orderly Book of Lord Ogilvy's regiment" is found "Crichton's to relieve their own guard tomorrow at Garmouth." After Culloden, James Crichton wandered about the country, and in November, 1746, his name appears in "A list of persons not yet apprehended against whom there are proofs of having been concerned in the late Rebellion." (P.R.O.) He ultimately escaped abroad and lived in France for some years. He died in poverty at Paris in the end of 1769, and (according to the "Scots Peerage") was buried in the Parish Church of Else, near Montreuil.

He had resigned the lands of Auchingoul to William Leslie of Melrose before 1769. They were bought towards the end of the 18th century by William Rose, factor to Lord Fife.

Cumine, Charles, of Kininmonth.

He is entered in Lord Rosebery's List as "Charles Cumming of Kininmount, Longmay. Joined the Pretender's son at Edinburgh. Rent of Estate—£150 0. 0. Condition of Mansion House—very good."

Charles Cumine was the eldest son of John Cumine, 2nd of Kininmonth (died 1736), and Mary Keith, his wife, of the Marischal family. He had 3 brothers—one of whom, Alexander, was also "out" in 1745. Charles Cumine married (previous to 1740) the Hon. Sophia, daughter of the 15th Lord Forbes, who died in the 75th year of her age in 1790. Sophia's mother was Mary Forbes, eldest sister of Alexander, 4th and last Lord Pitsligo.

Shortly after his marriage Charles Cumine rebuilt the old house of Kininmonth (previously occupied by the former owners—the Hays of Delgaty) and the amount laid out upon this severely taxed the resources of the family. Then came the Rising of '45 and, owing partly to his depleted exchequer, but probably much more to the urgent persuasion of Lord Pitsligo, his wife's uncle, Charles Cumine decided to support the Stuart cause. He raised a troop of horse and went south, but little more is known of his part in the struggle, indeed, it is said that quite early he regretted the unfortunate step which he had taken. After Culloden, he returned to Aberdeenshire and was in hiding at Altrie (formerly the Abbey Lordship of Deer), but his wife brought such influence to bear on George II as secured his pardon and probably also that of his brother Alexander. It is reported that some time after Culloden, Mrs. Cumine being in London, was presented to George II and told him it was very hard seeing her father and all her own people were loyal to the Crown that she and her children should be reduced to poverty because "her husband was a fool." The King was amused, and, swearing that in that case the man was not worth the trouble of bringing to the block, restored to him all his estates; the jury in Edinburgh returning a verdict of "Ignoramus" in October 1748. He was crossed off the list of J.P.s of Aberdeenshire in 1747 as a "Rebel."

Charles Cumine lived for 18 years after Culloden, but a touch of inertia and melancholy ran through his later days. Naturally, he could not feel quite comfortable at home while Lord Pitsligo was shivering in dens and caves and others of his neighbours were being hunted about the country. He handed over the management of his property to his wife, who, by her prudent direction, saved his estate as she had previously saved his life.

He died in 1764 aged 57, and is buried at Lonmay with his brother, Alexander. His widow died at Aberdeen in 1790 in the 75th year of her age. They had a son, James, who succeeded to Kininmonth and married Mary Ferguson of Kinmundy. Their eldest daughter and heiress, Margaret, married, in 1792, Alexander Russell, son of Alexander Russell of Montcoffer, and the Russells eventually became owners of Aden and Kininmonth.

Cumine, Alexander, younger brother of Charles Cumine of Kininmonth.

In the List of Rebels from the Old Meldrum district he appears as "Alexander Cumming, Farmer, Meikle Crichie, Old Deer. Joined the Rebels at Edinburgh and was very active in levying for their service. Worth of Stock—£500 or £600."

He was the third son of John Cumine of Kininmonth (the second, James, having been a merchant in Holland). Apparently Alexander accompanied his eldest brother when the latter went to Edinburgh in October 1745 to join Prince Charles, but he was not in the troop of horse which Charles Cumine raised, as he is stated to have been "a Captain in the Duke of Perth's." He was taken prisoner at Culloden and was detained at Inverness for some time before being sent on board the "Dolphin" to Tilbury. It is not known what happened to him, but he must have somehow obtained his release, and is buried with his brother, Charles, in the churchyard of Lonmay.

Cumine, William, of Pitullie.

Appears in Rosebery's List of Rebels as "William

Cumming of Pitully, Pitsligo. Joined the Rebels at Edinburgh. Yearly rent of Estate — £300. A good house."

William Cumine was the eldest son of George Cumine, 2nd of Pitullie, by his first wife, Jean, daughter of Captain Robert Urquhart of Burdsyards (now Sanquhar), Forres. George Cumine had a very large family; by his first wife he had 4 sons and 2 daughters, and after her death in 1728 he married Christian, daughter of Sir John Guthrie of Ludquharn,[1] by whom he had 17 children.

William Cumine born in 1721, was at the Scots Bar when Prince Charles landed. He joined the Jacobite army at Edinburgh in company with his neighbours, Lord Pitsligo, Alexander Ogilvie of Auchiries (who subsequently married Cumine's sister, Mary), Charles Cumine of Kininmonth and his younger brother, Alexander, and Alexander Irvine of Drum. William Cumine served as a volunteer in Lord Pitsligo's Horse; being lame from having broken his ankle in a frolic in Edinburgh he could not serve on foot. There is a story that William Cumine's father, George Cumine, wished also to go "out." The second wife, Christian Guthrie, was willing that her stepson William should join the Rising, but having misgivings as to the result, she endeavoured to dissuade her husband, though without success. On the morning on which he had arranged to set out, a servant waiting at breakfast, acting on Mrs. Cumine's suggestion, poured, as if by accident, a quantity of boiling water into his boot as he pulled it on, which had the desired effect of keeping him at home and thus saved the estate of Pitullie from confiscation.

William Cumine came safely through the whole campaign, but was obliged to conceal himself for some years, thus being precluded from following his profession. In October, 1747, Lord Elcho says he was "in Padua with Gordon of Cobairdy." He was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747. At

[1]He was, therefore, brother-in-law to William Burnet, elder, of Campfield.

Edinburgh in October, 1748, a "true bill of high treason" was found against him, but he subsequently, in some way, made his peace with the authorities. In 1752 he married Jean, daughter of William Moir of Lonmay, and had 9 children.

His father dying in 1767, William Cumine succeeded to the estate of Pitullie, but he was obliged to sell it in 1788 to Sir William Forbes and latterly lived in Edinburgh, where he died in 1790. There is a monument to him in the burying-ground of the West Church.

Dirom, Alexander, senior, Aberdeen.

In Lord Rosebery's List he appears under the surprising description of "Alexander Decorm, Wright. Acted as Tidesman for the Rebells in the Port of Aberdeen."

He really was Alexander Dirom, writer, Collector of Taxes in Aberdeen, who, pleading the infirmities of age, resigned his post in 1745 to his clerk, Charles Hacket.[1] Perhaps he found the post of "Tidesman" more suited to one of his years. After Culloden he discreetly disappeared for a time, as in November, 1746,[2] it was reported that it was "not known" where he then was.

Dirom, Alexander, junior, Aberdeen.

The son of the preceding, born in 1725. In one part of Lord Rosebery's List he is described as "Alexander Decorm, Junr. servant, Aberdeen. Acted as a Lieutenant of the Rebells at the battle of Culloden and as collector of the Town Tax of Aberdeen." In another part of the same list occurs:—"Alexr. Durom, Junr. Writer's servant," and a note to this entry propounds the theory that Durom "stands in all probability for Durham, a frequent surname in the North-East of Scotland!" From references to the doings of this father and son during the Jacobite occupation of Aberdeen,

[1] See page 287.

[2] This is the date, according to a paper in the Record Office, at which the lists asked for from the Supervisors of Excise were *finally* sent up.

however, it is perfectly clear that the two Diroms are intended. The younger Dirom, who assisted his father, was appointed Collector of the Town Tax jointly with Charles Hacket, after his father resigned, and when the Jacobites left Aberdeen on their northern march, young Dirom joined up and became a Lieutenant. After Culloden, he went into hiding.

There are very good grounds for identifying the above Alexander Dirom with the much respected Provost of Banff. The name is a very uncommon one—the age of the Provost agrees with that of the young Writer described above; moreover, the history of Banff gives no details of the Provost's early youth, beyond the fact that he had studied law in Edinburgh before coming to Banff. This would be subsequent to the Rising!

The history of the family of Pasley Dirom of Mount Annan, Dumfries, which descended from the Provost, discreetly begins, according to Burke, with General Alexander Dirom, the Provost's son, which possibly points to Jacobite ancestors!

The Provost's daughter, Sophia, married Captain George Duff, killed at Trafalgar, whose father, James,[1] had also (as an irresponsible boy) taken part in the Rising and became subsequently a distinguished citizen of Banff and Sheriff-Clerk there.

An amusing connection between the widow of the above Provost Dirom and Prince Charles Edward is noted in a letter from the 2nd Lord Fife:—

"Whitehall 18 May 1791.

I was presented yesterday to Madame Albany, the Pretender's widow, and I saw her presented to both the King and the Queen. She was most generously received, and really her being at Court is a very extraordinary circumstance. She had no diamonds or finery. Quite plain in dress and deportment. About the size of Mrs. Dirom, a little fatter, and really a very good-looking woman."

[1]See page 143.

Douglas, John, of Fechil, Ellon.

Was a son of Sylvester Douglas of Whiteriggs, Kincardineshire, and married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Maitland of Pitrichie (a Whig), and after her death, Margaret, daughter of James Gordon, M.D., of Fechil, and his wife, Margaret Baird, daughter of James Baird of Auchmedden (presumably a Jacobite sympathiser). James Gordon died in 1741 and was succeeded by his daughter, Margaret (Mrs. Douglas), whose husband assumed the management of the estate of Fechil.

John Douglas and his second wife had two children (a son, Sylvester, born 1743, and a daughter, Katherine, who married James Mercer of Auchnacant); he was "out" in the '45, and, according to Lord Rosebery's List, "Joined the Pretender's Standard at Aberdeen and was seen at Newburgh with a white cockade." The condition of his house was reported to be "very good" and the rent of his estate as £83 6s. 8d. It is not known what became of him immediately after Culloden, but Fechil, being his wife's property, was not confiscated and after a time he probably returned to Aberdeenshire. He was certainly at one time in France, as he shared in the division of the 36,000 francs given to the Prince "pour payer ses Ecossais" in 1748. His wife, Margaret, died in 1754, and after her decease he married for the *third* time another Margaret, daughter of Thomas Forbes of Echt (another Whig!), but had no further issue.

John Douglas died 28th April, 1762, in the 48th year of his age. His son, Sylvester, was, in 1764, served heir to him in the "lands of Fechill."

Drysdale, Neil or Nathaniel, an Aberdeen schoolboy of fourteen.

He is not mentioned in Rosebery's List and does not seem to have been attached to any particular regiment. He was taken prisoner after Culloden and sent to London on board the "Greyhound," where he made himself so useful to the commanding officers when

the "Greyhound" was attacked by a French privateer off Loch Moidart and many of the crew were sick, that on arrival in London he was discharged without trial. In a list among the State Papers of "Prisoners apprehended after Culloden," his name is given as "Nathaniel Dresdel."

Duff, James, was the 3rd surviving son of Alexander Duff, 1st of Hatton.

He was born in 1729. As a boy of sixteen he went "out" in the '45, but was brought home after the skirmish of Inverurie, and owing to his extreme youth and the family interest the matter was hushed up.

Hugh, Lord Sempill, commanding at Aberdeen, wrote on 21st August 1746, to Lord Albemarle:—"Since I have been here, I have been Solicited by Sir Alexander Reid (of Barra), Mr. Duff of Hatton, and Mr. Reid, who each of them had a son about Eighteen Years of age, printises in this place, and were unhappily Seduced to go with the Rebels to Inverurie: as the above gentlemen are well affected to his Majesty and Government, so soon as they had an account of their having joind thoas Rebels, they Emediately Seazed them, which prevented them being any more concern'd. Your Lordsp will please observe they are younger Brothers and men off no Estate nor fortone. I would not give them any passes such as the Common Sort of Rebels gets, until I know your Lordsp's pleasure about them."

In Lord Rosebery's "List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion" there is this entry:—"James Duff, writer's apprentice, Hatton, Auchterless, Aberdeen. Carried arms in the character of an officer, at Inverurie, and was one of those who apprehended Mr. Maitland of Pitrichie. Not known where he is." At that time, though probably in hiding, he had doubtless incurred reproof from his irate father and his escapade was later completely forgotten. In 1761 he was appointed (by Lord Bute) Sheriff Clerk of Banff. He held that office for 40 years, resigning in 1801, when he was succeeded by William Rose of Montcoffer. He was also made Deputy-Keeper of Sasines in 1765. James Duff was

twice married, firstly, to Helen, daughter of George Skene of Rubislaw, who bore him a daughter, Helen, and two sons, Alexander and George (who, as Captain George Duff, R.N., was killed at the battle of Trafalgar), and secondly, to Margaret, daughter of James Dunbar of Kincorth, and niece of Sir William Dunbar of Durn, and by her had thirteen children.

For some years James Duff lived in the "Old Lodging" (the site of which may still be traced in the Duff House garden)—which was formerly the property of the Earls of Airlie. From them it passed to the Fife family, and was the headquarters of the Duke of Cumberland's army on his way to Culloden.

James Duff died in 1804 and was buried in Banff churchyard, where there is a monument:—"To the memory of James Duff Esq. 4th son of the first Alexander Duff of Hatton, who died 19th November 1804, aged 75. As a just tribute of dutiful regard, this stone is placed over his remains by his affectionate widow, daughter of James Dunbar of Kincorth."

He was probably one of the last survivors of the officers who took part in "the '45." One of his daughters, Mrs. Biggar, was still living in 1876 and was seen by the present writers.

Duff, William, eldest son of Lord Braco.

He is often called "Master of Braco," and was only a potential Jacobite.

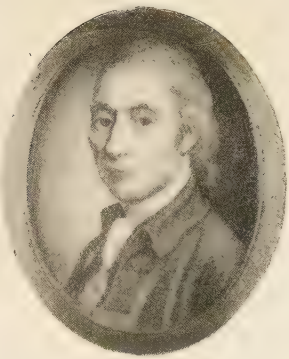
Parental vigilance prevented his joining the Prince's army, but his ardent desire to do so (being actually only restrained by force) is another instance of the sympathies of the rising generation being strongly with the Prince's cause, while the heads of the families remained firm on the Government side. This is seen in the case of Lord Lewis Gordon, George Hay of Mountblairy, James Duff of Hatton, Alexander Gordon of Letterfourie and many others.

William Duff was born in 1724, so was of the impressionable age of 21. He had always been something of a "mauvais sujet," in fact his father describes him as "an abandoned wretch, nothing can ever be

1

James Duff.

2



Alexander Gordon
of Letterfourie.

3

Harry Farquharson
of Whitehouse Mill.

4

Barbara Gordon,
wife of Harry Farquharson.

1. From miniature in possession of Miss Blaikie.
2. " " " " Patrick Gordon Shee of Letterfourie.
3 & 4. From miniatures in possession of Norman Farquharson of Whitehouse.

expected from him," and the young man may have hoped to do something to win better opinions in the campaign which he longed to join.

He had two uncles involved in the Jacobite cause, William Baird, husband of Lord Braco's sister, Anne, and Sir James Kinloch, husband of Janet; but family tradition points to his brother-in-law, Sir William Gordon, as the one who chiefly influenced him and with whom he hoped to serve. As already stated, this design was frustrated, and he lived for another eight years to do nothing in particular, and to be buried at night (to avoid the seizure of his body for debt!) in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, close to the respectable dust of his Whig grandfather, Sir James Grant of Grant.

Duguid, Patrick, of Auchinhove, Lumphanan.

Described in Lord Rosebery's List as "Peter Dogood of Auchenhove, Lumfannan, one of the Rebel Officers. Was very active in raising large sums of money out of the parishes of Kincardin, Lumfanan, Touch, Alford, Lochill and Midmar. Lurking near his own house. Yearly rent £30. House burnt."

He was the son of Robert Duguid of Auchinhove and his wife, Teresa, third daughter of Patrick, Count Leslie of Balquhain; was born in 1700, educated abroad and returned from Douai just previous to the Rising of 1715, in which he took some part. No measures were taken against him for his share in this affair. He succeeded to Auchinhove in 1731, and in the same year married Isabella Dickson, by whom he had 3 sons and 1 daughter, who all died in infancy. He married, secondly, in 1740, Amelia, daughter of John Irvine of Kincausie, by whom he had 11 children, the fourth son, John, ultimately succeeding him.

Patrick Duguid took up arms for Prince Charles in 1745, and is mentioned in the Rev. John Bisset's Diary as entering Aberdeen on 27th November with between 30 and 40 men. Another mention of him is in a letter written by Alexander Grant of Grantsfield (now Midmar Castle) to the Lord Justice Clerk (Andrew Fletcher) in which he says that Patrick Duguid of Auchinhove came

to Grantsfield in the Christmas week with "60 of the Rebells and seased my Tennants and kept them prisoners in my own house, when I was with the Laird of Grant. My Tennants were robb'd by Auchenhove and his Rebell-partie of two hundred pound sterling."

Patrick Duguid was present at the fight at Inverurie on 23rd December 1745 (at which he was wounded) and at Culloden. Returning to Aberdeenshire after that defeat, he could not go to his house of Auchinhove, because Hanoverian troops, under Captain Hardy, were quartered there. Duguid determined, if discovered, to sell his life dearly, particularly as Captain Hardy had sworn that "if Auchenhove was out of Hell, he would take him dead or alive." Attended by six faithful followers, Duguid lay hid in the neighbourhood of Coull, often seeing the soldiers searching for him, while his wife and 3 infant children remained at Auchinhove in a continual state of alarm. One day Captain Hardy, having heard some noise in an adjoining closet, in which James Duguid, then 5 years old, usually slept, and thinking it was the father who had returned, rushed into the room to find only the little fellow on the floor. In order to conceal his disappointment, he flourished his gay cocked hat and feathers and told the child he would give it him if he would cry "Hurrah for King George." To his surprise the boy replied, "Na, na, I'm a Prince's man" Later on, Hardy, despairing of catching Duguid and enraged at his failure, ordered the castle to be burnt *at midnight*, without any excuse or warning. The wife and children escaped by a window and retired to the top of a neighbouring hill, where they sat shivering in the cold, watching the destruction of their home. Patrick Duguid, from his hiding place on the hill of Coull, also saw the burning of his house by the Government soldiers. No redress was ever obtained for this wilful destruction. Duguid was not excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, though his name had been put on a list of those proposed by Lord Albemarle for this purpose. There is no record of his ever leaving Scotland, so perhaps after a time his offence was overlooked and he was not molested. He was pardoned in

1775, and in the same year he succeeded his cousin, Patrick Leslie Grant, in the Balquhain estates. His second wife having died in 1762, Patrick Duguid married, for the third time, in 1773, his cousin, Eliza Grant, sister of Patrick Leslie Grant. He himself died at the house of Tullos at the foot of Benachie on 11th April 1777, in his 77th year, and was succeeded by his fourth son, John, born in 1751, James, above mentioned, having taken Holy orders.

Dunbar, Michael.

Is not mentioned in Rosebery's List. He was a well-known character in the Strathdon district where he was a terror to the countryside, being a noted thief, robber and, when driven to it, a murderer. It is not known where he lived, possibly he had no fixed abode, but on the outbreak of the Rising of 1745, Dunbar joined Prince Charles' forces and concentrated all his energy on that affair. No record remains of his exploits, but there is preserved at Clova House a fearsome weapon belonging to him. In the Catalogue of the Museum it is thus described:—"Double-edged dagger with small metal hand-guard on wooden cut handle, in leather sheath, bound and capped with metal, measures about five inches, with handle and sheath 10¾ inches."

Michael survived the troubles of the '45, and is said to have been over a hundred when he died. He is buried in the churchyard of Kildrummy. The story goes that on his death-bed the minister of Kildrummy (Dr. Christie) went to see him and urged him to repent of his wicked ways, at the same time warning him where those who remained hardened in sin might go. Michael listened patiently to the minister's words, and when they were finished slowly drew out from under the bolster the formidable looking dirk. Holding it out for the admiration of the surprised Dr. Christie, Michael said, "Weel, Minister, wi' this dirk I sent seven English sodgers to the Deevil. Maybe that will help me some."

It appears that in 1746 there had been a small company of English soldiers in the district searching for lurking Jacobites. They were lodged in an ale-house near

the farm of Drumnahive called Cleek 'em Inn (or else at one near Edinbanchory), and after a long day's searching for rebels were feasting at night. Michael, hearing of this, quietly approached the inn and stationed himself just outside the door. First one soldier came out alone and Michael stabbed him, then another and then another until, the whole seven being murdered in the dark, Michael discreetly withdrew. How he managed to secrete the seven bodies or why the crime was never brought home to him does not appear. There are other versions of the story—one mentions nineteen victims and another twenty-six—perhaps (like Falstaff) Michael increased the number of foes as often as he told the tale!

Dunbar, Sir William, of Durn, was the third baronet of that creation, being the eldest son of Sir James Dunbar and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir James Baird of Auchmedden.

Sir William married Clementina, the 5th surviving daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, whereby he became brother-in-law of William, Lord Braco, who had married Jean Grant, and of Ludovick Grant. Sir William seems first to have wished to marry Clementina's elder sister, Sophia, and the following letter to Sir James Grant throws rather an amusing light on the progress of his courtship:—

"Cullen House, Sept. 8th 1737.

Sir,

The regard and honor I hade for your family in general, and more especially for your daughter, Miss Sophy, makes me acquaint you of a proposell I made the young lady, which Mr. Grant was pleased to say he would communicate to you. This I would have done previous to anything, but I observed, from the sense the young lady has of these matters, it was proper first to address her self. Mr. Grant dide me the honour to recommend this matter in the most friendly way to Miss, but her behaviour gives me no room to insist further; and as I had the honor to be acquainted with your youngest daughter, Miss Clemmy, whose civill usage, good behaviour, and sweet temper, and who simpathised

with me on this occasion, make me assured that if I can obtain her good graces my loss will be fully made up. So could I be so happy as to obtain these and your consent, I should think myself luckie. But before I mention this to her self, I think myself bound, in the most humble and respectfull manner, to ask your approbation, which I hope will have the proper influence on all the young ladies to mind what duty they owe to a most indulging and affectionate parent. Your countenance here will influence me to be allwayes with the greatest regard, Sir—yours etc. etc.

WILL DUNBAR."

William Dunbar married Clementina Grant in 1737, and by her he had three sons and four daughters. Clementina died on 1st June 1765, and a few months later in the same year he married Jane Bartlett of Banff, by whom he had no male issue.

Sir William Dunbar joined Lord Pitsligo at Aberdeen in September, 1745.

He declined a commission and served as a volunteer throughout the campaign. When Prince Charles' troops plundered Cullen House on 8th April 1746, the Duke of Cumberland in retaliation withdrew his protection for the house of Durn, which in consequence suffered considerably. Lady Dunbar, as well as her husband, was at that time with the Jacobite army. After the defeat of Culloden, Sir William Dunbar was in hiding in the neighbourhood of his estate, and was fortunate enough to escape capture, though several parties were sent to look for him. His name appears in the Bill of Attainder in May 1746, and again in the list of those excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747. In Edinburgh, in October, 1748, a True Bill was found against him in his absence.

On 6th October 1748, he writes to his wife, Clementina, from somewhere in hiding, but whether in Scotland or abroad is not stated.

"My dear,

You know how deeply I am affected by the sense I have of the danger and misery to which my great folly

has reduced not only myself but you and our poor innocent children. Happy hade it been for me hade I followed the advice your worthy father and some others of my friends gave me before the late wicked rebellion. But I have had time and Leisure by deep reflexion to be most fully convinct of my most lamentable and detestable errors. I entreat therefore you may transmit the enclosed petition to your brother.[1] I hope he will, notwithstanding the offence he has taken at me by acting directly contrary to his wise and friendly advices, be so good as deliver this petition to the Secretary of State to be presented to his Majesty, And you may fully assure him I'm determined by the assistance of Almighty God to keep faithfully all the promises I make in it, and particularly as to the education of our children. God forbid I ever should be so wicked as by instilling prejudice in their tender minds to expose them to the dangers of ruin and misery in wh. I have been involv'd. I pray God I may be restored to the freedom of Living with you and them at home in peace, and I assure you no Temptation shall ever make me hearken again to the disturbers of my native country and shall never, throw my behaviour, be again in danger of being involved in such misery. I am always, my dearest life,

Most unutterably yours,

Wm. Dunbar.

To my Lady Dunbar of Durn."

This letter is to be found among the State Papers, and with it is:—

"The humble petition of Sir William Dunbar of Durn.

Sheweth, That your Petitioner is one of those unhappy people who by a distraction too prevalent at the time, was hurreyed into the late most wicked and unprovoked rebellion against your Majesty's mild and gentle government. That during the course of the said Rebellion your Petitioner never raised any men for the service of the Rebels, nor ever had any Commission in their service, nor was ever agreeing to any harsh thing

[1] Ludovick Grant.

done to any of your Majesty's loyal subjects, but on the contrary endeavoured to prevent anything of that nature, as much as was in his power.

That your petitioner is deeply sensible that by his rebellion he has forfeited his right to his life and fortune by the Law of his country. But as your Majesty, by your gracious Indemnity, from which he is excepted, has been mercifully pleased to extend your Royal clemency to many thousands not less criminal than he, but to none who will have a more grateful sense of it, he humbly presumes to apply to your Majesty for your royal forgiveness.

And your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray, etc.

Wm. Dunbar."

Unlike two of the petitioning Jacobites, who maintained that they had never committed "any hostile act against the King's Government," though *known* to have taken part in the battles of Prestonpans and Falkirk, Sir William Dunbar is never heard of in action. The only evidence against him was that of informers, such as Charles Campbell, on whose list he appears. "Sir William Dunbar of Durn. Saw him frequently at the City of Edinburgh and at Holyrood, when those places were in the possession of the Rebels, armed with a broad-sword and had a white cockade in his hatt."

It is not known why he remained a volunteer and refused the commission to which his position certainly entitled him. It *may* have been from consciousness of want of military capacity, or out of considerations of safety in the event of the failure of the cause. His brother-in-law, Ludovic Grant, consented to forward the petition, and Lord Findlater also wrote to the Duke of Cumberland as follows:—

"November 5.

The particular reason of my troubling your Grace at this time is humbly to intreat your favourable interposition with his Majesty for Sir William Dunbar of Durn, against whom a bill has lately been found by the Grand Jury at Edinburgh. I understand he has applyed to his Majesty for mercy, and that the petition is trans-

mitted by Sir Ludovick Grant, to whose sister he is marryed. He is certainly a very weak, foolish man, and I can say nothing for him but that he is quite incapable to do good or hurt to any party. Your Grace however will not be surprised at my being anxiously concerned for the preservation of the family, when I have acquainted you that my Mother was a daughter of it. The family was always firm and zealous for the Protestant and Revolution interest, untill the late Sir James Dunbar, father to this man, had the misfortune to marry a Jacobite wife, who introduced nonjuring Ministers among them. Notwithstanding my near connexion, I doe in the sincerest manner assure your Grace that I would not say a single word on this subject if I were not fully convinced that the publick interest cannot possibly receive any hurt from His Majesty's extending his mercy to this foolish, silly man, providing it be made a condition of his pardon that his children, who are all young, shall be educated in principles of strict fidelity to His Majesty. The just respect I have for the memory of my Mother and of her ancestors would indeed make me take this act of Clemency as an extraordinary favour. Would your Grace therefore be so good as to lay this my humble and earnest request before his Majesty." (P.R.O.) This petition must have proved successful in staying any further proceedings against Sir William Dunbar, for he shortly after returned to pass the remaining years of his life at Durn. The present house of Durn, near Portsoy, is not that in which Sir William lived, for the old house and gateway were demolished about 1770. Sir William died at Banff on 28th January 1786. Durn is now part of the Seafield estates, and Sir George Dunbar, the present representative of the family, lives elsewhere.

Durward, Malcolm, of Mulloch, Aberdeenshire.

Does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List, but, according to the "Legends of the Braes of Mar," he was present at Culloden and two of his brothers were killed by his side. He himself escaped unhurt and went home. It is related that in his flight he met an English convoy,

and, having annexed the first horse of the troop, mounted it and rode off. Some years after, the Grants of Rothiemurchus, the owners, learned who had stolen the horse and that it was still in his possession. Upon their putting forward a claim for the animal, Durward replied that they must prove their case. The late owner came from Speyside with two friends, who said they could also swear to its identity. They were admitted to a stable in which stood two horses. The Grants stepped up to the nearest, and, without hesitation, said, "This is the horse," to which came the answer, "Ah, but it juist happens yon's a mare!" After this no claim could be maintained, and Malcolm Durward kept the horse, which was standing in the next stall.

Elphinstone, Henry, senior, appears in Lord Rosebery's List as "Henry Elphinstone, discharged land waiter, Aberdeen, acted as Tide Surveyor for the Rebels in the Port of Aberdeen. Prisoner at Edinburgh."

He is also described as a merchant in Aberdeen, and was one of the debtors of William Strachan, clerk and merchant there. In the Diary of the Rev. John Bisset are two entries, the first, "21 May 1746, John Elphinstone is walking the streets again but I have not heard as yet on what terms." The second, "23 May 1746, I hear John Elphinstone hath been at Edinburgh and hath been admitted to bail by the Justice Clerk." This may refer to his son, John, born in 1723, or may be a mistake for Henry Elphinstone. Nothing further is known as to Henry's career.

Elphinstone, Henry, junior.

This man is described in the Rebel List as "Ship-master, Aberdeen. Went to Carlisle with the Rebels from whence he deserted." It is stated further that at the time of the compilation of the list his whereabouts were not known, but Bisset's Diary for 2nd December 1745, says that "Smith junior of Inveramsay and Henry Elphinstone, junior are taken and prisoners in Edinburgh Castle." According to Lord Rosebery's List,

Henry Elphinstone, *senior*, was a prisoner in Edinburgh, so possibly father and son were both captured. In the Register Book of St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Aberdeen, under date 19th July 1747, there is this entry, "Hary Elphinstone junior, shipmaster and Jean Elphinstone had a daughter Mary," which seems to prove that Henry Elphinstone, junior, must have been released from captivity in the year after Culloden.

Farquhar, John, Groom to John Murray of Broughton.

Not mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List. He had been ostler at the Red Lion in Edinburgh, but said he was born in Banffshire. He was taken prisoner after Culloden at Fort William on 6th June, and was among those sent to London on the transport "Pamela." Farquhar, like his master, seems to have "turned evidence,"[1] as he was one of the witnesses at Lord Lovat's trial, and was closely questioned as to the interviews of Sir John Douglas with his master and others at the Prince's headquarters. His ultimate fate is not known.

Farquharson, Anne, wife of Aeneas Mackintosh, 22nd Laird of Mackintosh.

She was the daughter of James, 9th Laird of Invercauld (who had been "out" in the '15), and Margaret Murray, first cousin to Lord George Murray.

Though the exploits for which she is so well known took place in the county of Inverness, by birth she belongs to Aberdeenshire. She was born in 1723, and was therefore only 23 at the time of the rout of Moy. Her husband was firmly on the side of the Government, but Anne cherished hopes for a long time of winning him to the Prince's cause. She was passionately attached to him, but when she learnt that he had entered into definite engagements with Lord President Forbes,

[1]As did his fellow servant, "William Smith, footman to Secretary Murray's lady, who expressed his desire to become an evidence for the crown, and give an account of the meeting of the chiefs after Culloden at which Lord Lovat assisted." (P.R.O.)

she refused to see him again. "Colonel Anne," as she was called, raised 600 men, half of whom were sent to join the Prince before the battle of Falkirk, the other half she kept to protect Moy against her husband and Lord Loudoun, and to hold it for Prince Charles. As is well known, the latter stayed there and narrowly escaped capture on the 16th February 1746. A month later, Mackintosh was taken prisoner by the Jacobites at Dornoch, and the Prince had the happy idea of sending him to his wife's custody. It is said that when he was presented to her by his guards, she greeted him with a brief "Your servant, Captain," and he replied as briefly, "Your servant, Colonel." She herself was taken prisoner after Culloden and remained six weeks in confinement in Inverness, but was liberated without being taken to London, being in this so much more fortunate than Lady McKinnon, Lady Clanranald, who went mad in custody,[1] or the perfectly blameless Lady Stewart of Burray, who had only given white cockades to her servants! Anne Farquharson died in 1787.

Farquharson, Andrew.

Who lived at Balintomb, Kirkmichael, was unwillingly forced (probably by John Gordon of Glenbucket, who was very active in that neighbourhood) to join the Jacobite Rising, but as soon as was possible he escaped and submitted to the authorities. Under the Duke of Cumberland's declaration he was not molested, but was allowed to return home in peace.

Farquharson, Father Charles, was the youngest son of Lewis Farquharson of Auchindryne and his wife, Margaret Farquharson of Allanaquoich.

His brothers were Alistair, the eldest, who died early, William, whose son succeeded to Auchindryne, and Father John; both the latter also took part in the '45.

Charles was born in 1713 and went abroad in 1729 (the year his brother, John, returned to Scotland). He studied at Madrid and Douai, and became a Jesuit priest.

[1] S.P. Dom. 56, 34, 38.

In July 1744, by order of the General of the Jesuits, he returned to Scotland, and, not being appointed to any definite place, went to join his brother, John, then settled at Strathglass near Inverness. They were often tracked by priest-hunters and during the Rising of 1745 they seem to have been much persecuted by the authorities and were apprehended in July 1746, being among the captives confined on the "Pamela" at Woolwich. Before the end of the year 1746 they were removed to Tilbury Fort, as they petitioned for release from the latter place. In 1747 it is noted that they had to pay 6 guineas each to have their irons removed. They were both eventually discharged in that year "on condition of leaving the country."

The date of the return of Father Charles to Scotland is not known, but he worked for over 50 years in the Catholic Mission in Glen Gairn and Braemar; died at Ardearg, 30th November 1799, aged 86, and was buried in the Castletown of Braemar.

As his funeral cortège came down the road, Lord Fife, riding out from Mar Lodge, met the procession. He at once dismounted, and, taking off his hat, said, "Would to God I were such as he."

Charles Farquharson was renowned as a physician, and is said to have left a manuscript containing descriptions of treatments for the various maladies prevalent in the country, which, after his death, came into the possession of the Invercauld family. It is now, unfortunately, lost.

Farquharson, Charles.

The 3rd son of Andrew Farquharson of Allargue and Barbara Stewart of Aucholzie was born in 1719. He bore arms in the '45, and after Culloden had to go into hiding, lying concealed in the steep and almost inaccessible Craig Cluny, near his home, where he often heard the soldiers revelling in his house during their visits in search of him. After the passing of the Act of Indemnity, he became factor for the Invercauld estate, which post he held for many years and was known as the "Factair Mhor or Muckle Factor." He lived at Cluny-on-

the-Dee, opposite Invercauld House, until his death at the age of 76 on 21st January 1795, and is buried in the churchyard of Glenmuick.

Farquharson, Charles, in Drumnapark of Monaltrie.

Was the son of Donald of the Auchriachan branch of Farquharsons, his mother being a daughter of James Coutts, Rifantrach. Charles Farquharson married Barbara, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Charles Farquharson, the last male of the first Monaltrie family. They had a family of 10 sons and 1 daughter; the eldest son, James, was born in 1733 and the youngest, Shaw, in 1751.

Charles Farquharson was an ensign in the regiment of Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie, and was present at the battle of Culloden, after which he lurked for some time and was ultimately able to return to his house at Drumnapark. The date of his death is not known.

Farquharson, Donald, of Auchriachan.

Was the eldest son of Robert Farquharson of Auchriachan. He married Mary, eldest daughter of William Burnet of Campfield, and sister of John Burnet, the Jacobite. By her Donald had 3 sons and 4 daughters. He had a younger brother, John, who became a French subject early in the 18th century, and the title of Baron d'Auchriachan was conferred on John's son (Philippe Louis Charles) by Louis XVI. Donald's sister, Anna, married John Farquharson of Allargue.[1] On the outbreak of the Rising Donald Farquharson took up arms on behalf of Prince Charles, and became a captain in the regiment of Moir of Stoneywood. In Lord Rosebery's List he is described as being "very active in raising men." On 9th February 1746, he writes from Invercauld to James Moir, then at Aberdeen:—"I was sorry to have miss'd you at Bremarr, where I expect'd to have received orders, as I was within twelve miles of my own country and wanted to get home to raise more men, particularly my deserters; however my men

[1]See page 172.

declined going by Aberdeen, and wou'd by no means condescend to go untill they once got home to see their ffamilies, and my going without them along was loseing them for good and all, so that I presumed to go along with them, in hopes of makeing some few more, and to keep them together. However, I thought it my duty to run you this express, to receive your orders, and to learn where I am to meet and join the battalion, which I can do at Strathbogy or Fochabers (if you martch to Inverness), as both these places are within sixteen miles of my house." He then goes on to ask for pay for his men and concludes:—"If you want any Highland plaids or tartans for the men, acquaint me, and I'll endeavour to provide you in some."

Donald Farquharson was at the battle of Culloden, where he was erroneously "reported killed." In November 1746, he was "at home," and later he escaped to France and died there sometime before 1756. His name appears in a "List of Persons of Distinction either lurking or escaped beyond the seas" drawn up in the autumn of 1746, which is preserved at the P.R.O. Donald was the last of the Farquharsons of Auchriachan, and his house was burnt.

The *Aberdeen Journal* records that "at Banff there died 31st January 1795 In her 83rd year, Mrs. Mary Burnet, eldest daughter of the late William Burnet of Campfield and relict of the late Donald Farquharson of Auchriachan."

Farquharson, Francis, of Monaltrie, was one of the most important of the Aberdeenshire Jacobites. In Rosebery's List he is described as "A Collonel in the Rebel Army at Falkirk and Culloden, and one of the chief raisers of the men of Aboyne and Cromar. In Inverness, Prisoner."

He was the second son of Alexander Farquharson of Monaltrie, first laird of the second family, and his wife, Ann Farquharson, daughter of Francis Farquharson of Finzean. Alexander died in July 1745; John, the elder brother of Francis, had died without issue in 1741; Robert, the third son, minister of Kinaldie,

lived on until 1783, and his son, William, succeeded to Monaltrie. Francis himself, who was born in 1710, survived until 1790.

Long after the Jacobite Rising he married Elizabeth Eyre of Hassop, in Derbyshire, who is buried in Durham, where she died in March 1786.[1]

The attachment began during Farquharson's long residence at Berkhampstead, where Miss Eyre became enamoured of the "Baron Ban," whose fair hair hung on his shoulders (even at the age of 40!), but it is probable she was the same "Mistress Air" (Eyre) who had previously shewn compassion to other Jacobites, including Alex. Leith, and may have seen Francis Farquharson in London. She seems also to have helped him pecuniarily during his residence at Berkhampstead, and it was her fortune which enabled him to pay the money required for the fine on Monaltrie in 1784 and to effect all his improvements there. They had no children.

John Farquharson of Invercauld (who had been "out" in the '15) was uncle to Francis, and the latter administered the estate of Invercauld previous to the '45. On the outbreak of the Rising, Francis joined the Jacobites and was made colonel of a regiment under Lord Lewis Gordon; he was at once deprived of his commissionership of Invercauld. He presented himself to the Prince after Prestonpans, at the head of a considerable body of men, but did not go into England with the Jacobite forces, remaining in the north "gathering men" till early in January 1746, when he rejoined the army at Stirling.

One of the witnesses at his trial said he was seen with the rebel army at Inverness. "He was then dressed in a short coat, with trowse [*sic*] made of tartan. Some days before the battle of Culloden, I remember to have seen said Colonel Francis Farquharson with a big blue coat on, at the head of his own regiment."

He was taken prisoner at Culloden and kept in Inverness until 29th May, when he was placed on board a transport. "Arrived in London on June 24th and was

[1]Her husband erected a monument to her in St. Oswald's Parish Church.

lodged in Newgate and then in the New Gaol, Southwark, where he remained until 30th July 1747. In charge of a messenger until 8th August 1748. From then until 17th October was a prisoner at large in London, on which day he removed to Berkhampstead where he remained 17 years."

These dates are taken from a paper in his own handwriting, and he reckons up his imprisonment from the day of the battle of Culloden until his return to Monaltrie in 1766 as 20 years, four months and one day! He eventually received a *free* pardon for all offences committed before 13th April 1748.

He is described in the list drawn up by Mr. Sharpe, solicitor to the Treasury, as "having a small estate in Aberdeenshire and a gentleman of a very fair (i.e. unblemished) character and generally esteemed by his neighbours."

Another list notes that he "was included in the late act to attaint the Earl of Kellie and others, and that he does render himself up and submit to justice, of which please take notice. He was made prisoner at Culloden, shipped to London on May 29th 1746. A bill of Indictment for High Treason was found against him on August 23rd 1746. Sentence of death pronounced on November 15th and day of execution fixed for Friday sennight, November 28th."

Very full information is to be obtained about him from unpublished documents preserved among the State Papers.

He did, indeed, deserve to obtain a pardon. For no other Jacobite was there anything like the same number of petitions. In the State Papers alone there are over 30, with references to many more.

The earliest in point of time is dated 27th November 1746, the day before that fixed for his execution, and is from Alexander Robertson, Baron Reid, of Strathloch, Perthshire, an ardent Whig (and concerned after the Rising in entrapping and apprehending Jacobites who were *not* his friends).[1] It is addressed "To the Duke of Cumberland, and says:—

[1]See Duncan Shaw, page 396.

"That Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie who lieth under sentence of death and ordered for execution tomorrow, is your petitioner's near relation.[1] That the said Francis Farquharson was educated in the principles of the Church of Scotland, which are diametrically opposed to those of Jacobitism and Popery. That the said Francis Farquharson continued firm and steady in those principles, notwithstanding of the repeated sollicitations of the Duke of Perth and many others of the chiefs of the rebels, who came to his house and were at great pains to seduce him from his duty and allegiance.

That at length by the contrivance of the ringleaders of the rebels, having been set upon by a young lady with whom he had for several years been distractedly in love, he was, by her sollicitations prevailed upon to suffer his passion to get the better of his duty, and consented to join the rebels, contrary to his principles and inclination.

That the said Francis Farquharson was possessed before the late unnatural rebellion of little or no estate and is not the head of a clan, nor has he any interest or following whereby to do hurt."

Robertson further promises that Francis Farquharson's future conduct shall be good, and begs for his pardon, or if that cannot be granted, then at least the delay of his execution for a few days, that he may prepare himself for death.

A reprieve was granted (late in the evening before the execution) to the great majority of those condemned to die on 28th November.

The Government had realised that the nation was weary of these vindictive judicial murders, and thought it politic that they should cease.[2] Francis Farquharson,

[1]The connection appears to have dated from the 14th century, when Duncan Robertson of Alholia had a second son, Patrick, from whose eldest son, Donald, descend the Robertsons of Lude, from his second son, Alexander, the Robertsons of Strathloch, and from his daughter the Farquharsons of Invercauld, so that the relationship was, in truth, somewhat remote.

[2]Only 3 of those Scots condemned on the same day with Monaltrie were hanged, viz., John Hamilton, Governor of Carlisle, Alex. Leith and Andrew Wood.

however, had been a prominent Jacobite and had commanded a regiment; it was many months before he exchanged Southwark Gaol for a milder captivity, many more before he was allowed to leave London and *18 years* before he was actually set free.

A less pleasant petition from the same Alexander Robertson, begins by pointing out how he, Robertson, could produce evidence against many of Lord Airlie's tenants. That the facts he alleges can be "proven also by various ministers, including Robert Farquharson, minister of Kinnadie *(brother to Francis Farquharson, now ordered for execution, and that Francis Farquharson should be himself examined on the subject).* If his Majesty would be pleased to reprieve and save the life of, or banish Francis Farquharson, I and other 5 or 6 gentlemen, worth among us sixty thousand pounds sterling, will bond and engage to the extent of our all that he be a loyal subject in time coming to his Sacred Majesty.

I know him from a child to be the delight of mankind. I would not plead for an obstinate Jacobite."

Francis Farquharson's answer to Robertson's efforts on his behalf is written from "New Goall, Southwark, Dec. 2 1746."

After thanking him for his interposition and returning thanks also for the clemency of the Government, Farquharson continues:—"The least I can do on this occasion is to repeat the soleme vows I have alreadie made of my future duty to his Majesty and to his illustrious family, while I breathe.

Of this I beseech you, dear sir, to give the strongest assurance in my name and to lay me once more at his Grace the Duke of Newcastle's feet to implore the Continuance of his generous and powerful intercession for me who am determined that my future behaviour shall always be suitable to the declaration I now make.

Meantime I hope it will not be taken amiss if you mention the only thing I can think of just now wherein I can (in my small way) be most serviceable to the Government. Which is by assisting in carrying on some high roads that are still wanting, to make the Highlands

more accessible and in my humble opinion the one that would be found most useful would be that betwixt the town of Aberdeen and Ruthven in Badenoch. I may adventure to say that the great work performed by his Excellency Marshall Wade in that countrie can never be compleat untill there be a Communication opened to the East, and particularly to the town of Aberdeen, which is the principall town in the North of Scotland. And I have heard from severalls before I left Inverness that his Royall Highness the Duke of Cumberland himself inclined to have it done. So that upon the whole, if ye find it agreable, I should draw out a memorial thereanent in order to shew how usefull and necessary that work would be, and if it bee once resolved upon (and I have my liberty) whoever ye employ'd to carry it on, I should give all the assistance in my power without asking a farthing. But if I were trusted with the manadgement, I'm pretty sure I can not only find sufficient baill for my laying out the money faithfully, but I believe I can gett my Capacity pretty well vouched for by those who know what I have done in that way already. And I can easily make it appear that I could save the Government a good deal of money, seeing I could hire workmen, buy provisions, build houses for the men and procure carriadges for materialls etc. att a much cheaper rate than any one could do that is a stranger in that Countree. But in any event I shall willing bestow my travell, which is the best service I can think of just now. I do again intreat you'l not faill to Intimate my gratitude as above, and I always

sincerely remain, Dr. sir your most affectionate
cousine and most obliged humble servt.

FRAN. FARQSON."

A petition from the Presbytery of Alford says that the presence of Francis Farquharson "in his own country, as a living monument of the Royal Clemency, would be of infinit service for defeating the low and infamous arts too commonly practised at this time by the enemies of our happy Constitution, who use their outmost to darken and shade those truely great and Princely Qualities of Mercy and goodness that so eminently dis-

tinguish his Majesty and all his Royall Family—and in a particular manner adorn our glorious and happy deliverer his Royal Highness the Duke[1]—qualities that must command Love, esteem and veneration even among the most barbarious and obdurate." They also add how gratified they are at the notice taken by the Duke of Newcastle of the petitions sent up by the ministers in various parts of the country!

On 7th January 1747, a further petition was made in favour of Francis Farquharson by eleven ministers, who request that, as by royal clemency he has been reprieved, he may now be set free, and state that "It was the knowledge we had of his agreeable character which urged us to make this request."

On 12th July 1747, General Abercromby, M.P. for Banffshire, asks the Government that Francis and John Farquharson may be removed from Southwark Gaol to a Messenger's house, as it will be of great service to himself personally, he having "had several applications to this effect from freeholders of the county he now represents"; and several officers testified to the kindness shewn them by Monaltrie when they were prisoners.

Farquharson himself describes how he saved Mr. Alex. Ross, minister of Nairn, from the fury of the rebels, incurred by Ross having assisted prisoners to escape, and the minister describes how he (Farquharson) "was the Means, under God, whereby some officers escaped."

Mr. Charles Maitland of Pitrichie, and other officers, also testify to the effect that "when they were confined at Darnaway, Farquharson allowed them to walk at some distance from the house with the Centry following." Charles Maitland further adds "that by the kindness of Farquharson he was enabled to escape from the back window of the room where he lay confined, in Baillie Sutherland's house in Nairn, on 20th March 1746."

A little later Farquharson writes that he has contracted a severe sickness of ague in his confinement, and begs for the benefit of exercise and free air.

[1]Here the ministers would seem slightly to have strained the truth.

He was eventually removed to the house of Mr. Money, Messenger, on 30th July 1747.

Andrew Mitchell of Thainston, when elected M.P. for Aberdeenshire, being ignorant of the release, writes to Andrew Stone, Newcastle's Secretary, on 31st July 1747, asking for "some enlargement for Francis Farquharson, a prisoner in the Gaol at Southwark, but reprieved by the King a great while ago. As I will not presume to write to his Grace on this subject, I shall leave it with you to mention this affair or not as you please. Only if any favour can be obtained for him, I desire to have early notice of it, that I may give the merit of it to whom it is really due." He here alludes to Farquharson of Invercauld, who had forwarded Mitchell's election and then made the request in favour of his relative.

Early in 1748 a pardon was granted to Francis Farquharson on condition of banishment. He writes to Andrew Stone returning grateful thanks for this mercy, but pointing out that, as he must now live amongst strangers, some small means must be granted for his support.

(In August 1749, this pardon was still lying in the Privy Seal Office, as he lacked money to pay the fees for "passing" it.)

On 26th April 1748, he writes from Manchester Court (the Messenger's house), that he hears some of the reprieved rebels are to have a free pardon to return to their estates, but *he* is to be among those who are to quit forever their native country, and finds this "very hard."

His sentence was mitigated to residence in England, and on 20th July 1748, he writes desiring the favour that he may be allowed, in case their Excellencies, the Lord Justices, should think proper to allow him to remain in England, to be sent into Hertfordshire, "where I may have an opportunity of applying to agriculture and of learning the practical part of farming from good masters, or failing Hertford (which is reckoned the most famous for improvements), Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire."

On 21st July 1748, he was told that his request to be allowed to reside in Hertfordshire had been laid before

the Justices, and they had agreed to grant him a pardon "on condition of his confining himself to such a place in England as their Excellencies shall approve of, and that he must now signify what place in Hertfordshire he proposes, which, and a district of ten miles round it, their Excellencies are willing to allow of."

He settled at Berkhampstead, Herts, and was given £100 out of his own estate on going there.

In 1751, three years later, he writes to the Duke of Newcastle to say that the original £100 and £50 more which he had in 1750 have not sufficed to keep him, and begs for money to pay his debts. Another £50 was granted, and, possibly soon after this, he married.

He learned a great deal from English agriculturists, which he afterwards put into practice in Scotland. In 1766, as already said, he and his wife returned to Aberdeenshire, and found his house of Monaltrie in ruins. In the Forfeited Estate Papers it is noted that in May, 1746 (while Francis Farquharson was lying in Inverness Gaol), Captain Jackson and a party of soldiers had burnt "The Mansion-house of Monaltrie, with the haill offices and others thereto belonging."

It is not known where Francis Farquharson lived during the first nine years after his return to Scotland, but in 1775 he petitioned the Barons of the Exchequer (who were the virtual holders of all forfeited estates) for "a lease of certain parts of what had been the property of his family," in order that he "might have some spot to retire to in his old age, in his native country." This request was granted and a 41 years lease of his former estate was given to him. In 1784, when the Act was passed for "restoring the forfeited estates to the original owners, or their heirs, on the payment of certain sums on account of debts due by the forfeiting persons, which were discharged by the public," Francis Farquharson paid £1,613 0s. 9d. and resumed possession of Monaltrie. On that occasion his nephew and heir, William Farquharson of Bruxie, stated that Francis Farquharson was "the only forfeited person then alive." Francis was 74 years old, and the statement might well have been true, but there *were*, in fact, several other lairds among

the excepted Jacobites who had returned to their properties and were now enabled to have full possession of them, notably James Moir of Stoneywood, who did not die until the autumn of this year, and Andrew Hay of Rannes, who survived until 1789. While of those who had been condemned to death, and reprieved on the eve of execution, probably a large number of the younger ones were still living abroad; young James Gordon of Terpersie, Charles Oliphant and others. Charles Gordon of Binhall and Robert Forbes of Newe, who had been lucky enough to be pardoned without being transported and would have been in 1784 respectively 55 and 57, were probably still living in Scotland, but the dates of their deaths are not known.

During the 6 years of life that remained to him, Francis Farquharson acted as a model landlord, rebuilding his house of Monaltrie, introducing many improvements in agriculture and building bridges and making roads, to the great benefit of the Deeside district. He also developed the mineral springs of Pannanich, and is said to have built public and private bath-houses there. He died at Monaltrie on 22nd June, 1790, and was buried in the churchyard of Crathie on the north bank of the Dee.

Farquharson, Gregor, in Tombae.

Was the 4th son of Charles Bui Farquharson, a tenant on the Monaltrie estate. Gregor was educated at the Scots College in Paris and subsequently became preceptor to Cosmo George, 3rd Duke of Gordon. He lived later at Glenlivet, married and had children, of whom one, Cosmo, was also "out" in the '45. In "Catholic Highlands of Scotland," by Odo Blundell, a reference is made to "a boarding school for young gentlemen, which existed at Strathavon, under Mr. Gregory Farquharson." In 1745 Gregor took up arms in the Jacobite cause, and was present at the battle of Culloden where, or shortly after, he was made prisoner. In Lord Rosebery's List (dated November 1746) he is described as "Grigory Farquharson, formerly residing at Tombea in Glenlivet. Collected the Cess and Excise for

the Rebels. Dead," so he probably died in captivity. He appears in the list of prisoners at Inverness in April, 1746, and his will is in the Commissariot Record of Moray, under date 4th August, 1746.

Farquharson, Cosmo, in Tombae.

Was the son of Gregor above, and was named after Cosmo, Duke of Gordon, his father's pupil and patron. In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels, Cosmo appears as "Cosmus Farquharson of Tombea, Junr. Carried arms in the Rebel Army. At home." His name also occurs in a "List of Persons of Distinction either lurking or escaped beyond the seas." (P.R.O.)

Farquharson, Harry, of Whitehouse.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is called "Henry Farquharson, Farmer, Whitehouse Miln, Colston. Captain in the Rebel Army at Falkirk and Culloden." He was the eldest son of Harry Farquharson of Whitehouse, by his second wife, Elizabeth Harper. He joined the Jacobite army and became a captain in Monaltrie's regiment. "Harry Farquharson was killed at Culloden while gallantly leading on the Mar men in their impetuous charge at the commencement of that disastrous battle, leaving a numerous family to lament his loss." *(Aberdeen Journal.)* He married, in 1720, Barbara, daughter of John Gordon of Hallhead, and had 5 sons, Francis, Harry, William, James and Robert, and 2 daughters. The present proprietor of Whitehouse, Mr. Norman Farquharson, has the wedding ring of Harry Farquharson and Barbara Gordon, as well as miniatures of two of Harry's grandsons, and the following letter which Mrs. Farquharson received two months after Culloden from one of Cumberland's officers:—

"Aboyne, 9 June 1746.

Madam,

As I'm informed that you are afraid of having your house plundered, I write you this to inform you that you need not be under the least uneasiness about

it, for as your husband is dead, nobody can touch goods which are now yours.

I am, Madam,
Your most obedient servt.
HUGH MORGAN."

The present estate of Whitehouse, in the parish of Tough, must not be confused with the Whitehouse where Harry Farquharson, the Jacobite, lived, which was in the parish of Logie-Coldstone. Peter Farquharson, Harry's grandson, acquired the estate of Abercattie, in the parish of Tough, and renamed it Whitehouse.

Farquharson, James, of Balmoral.

Was youngest son by the second marriage of John Farquharson of Inverey (known as the "Black Colonel") and his wife, Marjory Leith, daughter of George Leith of Overhall. James Farquharson married Jean Leith, daughter of William Leith of the Overhall family, probably a first cousin. They had no family.

On the outbreak of the Rising of 1745 he joined enthusiastically in the venture, though he cannot have been a young man, since, in the previous Rising of 1715, he had held the rank of Major and was an A.D.C. to the Earl of Mar. When escaping in 1716 he fell over a cliff at Pennan with Lord Fraser, who was killed, he himself being badly injured.

He is described in Lord Rosebery's List as "James Farquharson of Balmurret, Craigmile, Kincardin, Aberdeen. Carried arms in England. A Lieut. Collonel, and wounded at Falkirk. Lurking. Yearly rent £40" and the condition of his house is given as "very bad." The battalion under his command took part in the battles of Inverurie and Falkirk, but did not go into England. From "Ballmorall" 11th October 1745, he wrote to the Duke of Atholl (the attainted Duke James called by the Hanoverians the Marquis of Tullibardine) a letter in which he says that, having been given orders by Prince Charles personally at Holyrood to raise men, he has found great difficulty in doing so in his neighbourhood owing to the "Backwardness" of his relative Farquharson

of Invercauld. Balmoral says that he cannot get the men "without military execution" and, "lest the King's Cause may suffer," begs that he may be supplied with a full company of men "to assist us in the execution of His Royall Highness' orders. Your Grace will see the thing can admit of no delay." He recalls himself to the recollection of the Duke of Atholl by adding, "I had the honour to be known to Your Grace when I was Aid-de-Camp to my Lord Mar in the fifteen. I wish all Health and good success to the King's ffriends under your Grace's command. God bless yow, and send us all a happy meeting." The Duke replied next day, saying that he has sent "Strowan Robertson, by one of his friends, ane order to march a hundred of his men to aid and assist you in raising the Braemar men with the outmost expedition," and adds that he hopes Balmoral will soon bring his men down to Perth "in our way to join the Prince."

James Farquharson was wounded at the battle of Falkirk and took no further part in the campaign. In preparation for the battle he drew up his men in the form of a wedge, the arrangement being that he marched at their head, two men followed in the second rank, three in the third and so on to the rear. They were to march in silence, and his orders were:—"Fire not a shot till you can discern the colour of the horses' eyes, then give one volley altogether; throw down your guns and rush upon them, cut the horses' bridles, and we will deal with the men." As they advanced a bullet hit Balmoral in the shoulder. "Four men," cried his henchman, "to carry our wounded chief to the rear." "Never," cried Balmoral, "four men to carry your chief at the head of his children into the thickest of the fight." After the battle, Farquharson's wound proving more severe than was thought, he was compelled to abandon further activity and return to Aberdeenshire. Bisset, in his Diary of 7th February 1746, says:—"I hear Balmurrell came right bad to Perth in a chaise." After Culloden he had to go into hiding. In the "Legends of the Braes of Mar" it is stated that he was concealed at Auchlossan in a barn which was fitted at the end with double walls.

James Farquharson of Balmoral.

From the picture in the possession of Hugh Lumsden of Clova.

(By kind permission of Dr. Stirton, owner of the engraved plate.)

Photo by R. Brown, Inverurie.

He was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity, and a True Bill of High Treason was returned against him in Edinburgh in 1748.[1] He presented a petition, dated 21st November 1748. In this he submits to his Majesty's royal clemency and begs for a pardon, alleging that he had been unhappily induced to join in the late Rebellion at the instigation of an elder brother whom he regarded as a parent. This was Charles, who died in 1747. The plea comes strangely from one who could not have been less than 50 years old in 1745! The petition continues:—"that while in arms he had always dealt leniently with those of the other side," that he had "retired again to his own country in February 1746," and finally that he was "now advanced to a considerable age with impaired health, and heartily sorry for his offence." The petition was accompanied by certificates from the Presbyteries of Alford and Kincardine O'Neil, to the effect that both before and after joining the Rising "he disswaded others from following his wretched bad example," which seems a somewhat undignified plea! His appeal for pardon was successful and the last few years of his life were passed in peace.

On 28th June, 1750, James Farquharson was served heir to his elder brothers, Patrick and Charles of Inverey, thus becoming proprietor of Inverey in addition to Balmoral. In two heritable bonds he is described as "James Farquharson of Balmurrel, Merchant in Aberdeen," but nothing is known of his career as a merchant. He died about 1753. There is a portrait of him at Clova, dated 1705, which came originally from old Balmoral.[2]

Farquharson, John, of Allargue.

In the official list he is given as "John Farquharson of Altery. Acted as an officer in the rebel army. Prisoner."

He was the eldest son of Andrew Farquharson of Allargue and his wife, Barbara Stewart, daughter of

[1]He was also proposed for inclusion in a second Bill of Attainder, but this was never passed.

[2]And is here reproduced.

William Stewart of Aucholzie. In 1745 he was 33 years of age, resided at Ellick in the parish of Kirkmichael, and was married to Anna, daughter of Robert Farquharson of Auchriachan, a near neighbour. He was the father of six young children.

Of his brothers, William, the eldest, was on the Government side; for Charles, "the Factor Mhor" (see page 150). John was a captain in the regiment of his cousin Monaltrie but nothing is known of his deeds during the campaign. He was taken prisoner at Culloden (appearing in Cumberland's own list of prisoners as a captain) and was conveyed to London in one of the Government vessels, of the conditions in which he afterwards gave a blood-curdling description to Bishop Forbes, the compiler of the "Lyon in Mourning." Before his trial (which was fixed for 23rd August 1746) came on, he busied himself, and his friends did so for him, in collecting evidence to prove (as usual) that he had been unwillingly forced to serve. There is an enormously long petition in his own name, "humbly recommended by several clergymen of the Established Church of Scotland" to prove that he was "twice forced into Rebellion by old Mr. Gordon of Glenbucket." The minister at Kirkmichael adds a special P.S. to the petition. "The above John Farquharson is grand nephew to the late Colonel Francis Farquharson, who was a gentleman of great character and himself being my parishioner and most friendly to me when threatened by the rebels for praying for our Sovereign King George etc. and his poor wife and family here being of most dutiful behaviour both during the Rebellion and the time of his imprisonment, for their sakes his liberation is most earnestly entreated by

GEORGE GRANT, Minr."

John Farquharson had employed Thomas Forbes of "Castle Street, in the parish of St. Martin, London," to go to several places in Scotland in order to subpœna witnesses, viz., Alexander Grant, Angus Stuart, John McHardy, John Forbes and Robert Cattanach. The two first "being of great age," were allowed to give their evidence on commission. The other three were reported

to have arrived in Edinburgh on the 29th September 1746, and from there hired horses to take them to Newcastle, where, being exhausted, they took ship for London, and "have not since been heard of."

John McHardy's own letter from Edinburgh to John Farquharson is as follows:—

"Sept. 29, 1746.

Dr. Sir,

I received yours upon which I took my journey immediately. I find it is a long trobelsome and very expensive voge just now, and I thought it proper to write you by the London post that I safely arrived att Leith att nine o'clock att night instant and John Forbes and Robert Cattanach along with me, and we are informe that we are not able to make out our journey against the day apointed. Butt we hired horses at Edinburrow the length of New Castel and we are advised be men to ship att New Castel, but are afraid for fear of beinge hindred by the way and if God spare us health we shall run a risk of our lives to be here if money don't fail us. And we are to be excused, for we've got no time to advance money and thought no ways that our journey was so long. All is from your assured friend,

JOHN MCHARDY.

P.S.—And we are not fully resolved to take sea, if we do not find ourselves safe, and I hope in God Almighty that we shall not fail. Adue."

This, as well as the letter from John Farquharson's wife, and the evidence of the two aged witnesses, were attached to the petition and all sent together to the Duke of Newcastle. The documents are still preserved in the *Baga de Secretis* and other repositories at the Record Office.

The wife's letter is dated:—

"Elick, October 9, 1746.

My dearest Life,

Before your last of the 18 Ultimo came to my hands, I sent off such of the witnesses as were capable for the journey, and am hopeful that e'er now they have reached London. But as I knew that the more witnesses

you had to prove your innocence and how you were forced (the better) I caused examine oyr two (before three Justices of the Peace) whose depositions are herewith sent you, as would a great many more to the same purpose, if we thought this would not do. I trust in God it will, providing it comes in due time to hand. I was, you may be shure, exceeding glad to hear that you keep health, as there is nothing earthly could afford me such pleasure save seeing you once again a free man. Your poor young family are all well, as are all your friends and relations here who join with me in praying that God Almighty be your advocate your Shield and support. So concluding, with my everlasting love and blessings to you and my oyer friends with you, I am and will remain till death, my dearest Life.

Your affecte. Loveing and Dutifull spouse
ANNA FARQUHARSON.

Donald and John Gordon offer their kind love to you, also to poor Monaltry. Adieu, my dear, Adieu, may God take care of you all."

(Addressed "Mr. William Stewart, Factor,
at Mr. Grant, Glover, in Duke's Court, by St. Martin's Lane, Westminster, London, and endorsed with an affidavit by William Stewart, Jeweller, that he received it by post from Scotland about the 23rd day of October under a member of Parliament's cover and being sensible that tho' addressed to the Deponent, it was intended for John Farquharson a prisoner in the New Gaol at Southwark, convicted of High Treason, and that the signature was that of said J.F.'s wife who lives at Elreck in Banffshire, the deponent being acquainted with her handwriting, did deliver it to him 6 November 1746. WILL STEWART."

The evidence taken on Commission is as follows:—

"At Bogghead of Arndilly 7 October 1746 in presence of Thomas Grant of Achonanie, James Leslie of Kininvie and Alex. Anderson of Newtown, J.P.'s, anent the petition of Robert Farqrson of Achriachan in name and on behalf of John Farqrson commonly called Alderg, his son-in-law, who had summoned witnesses to

declare how far he was forced to join the late unnaturall rebellion, but by reason of age and infirmity they could not perform the journey, Angus Stuart and Alex. Grant, natives of Strathavon, be examined before the J.P.'s."

"Angus Stuart in Findran of Achreachan aged 60 years and upward," gave evidence as follows:—

"Major-General John Gordon of Glenbucket, attended by a party of the Glengarry McDonalds in arms, upon a Saturday of the said month of September 1745 and the next Sunday, caused proclaim at the church and meeting houses of the said County, that all men between 16 and 60 years of age should next day convene at the house of Camdell where the King's standard (which title he gave the Pretender) was to be set up. And that upon pain of death to be inflicted upon those who wilfully absented (in case they could be apprehended) or otherways to have their habitations burned and their cattle driven off and slaughtered, but few appearing upon the Proclamation, parties were sent out by Glenbucket of the Glengarry men who did several acts of cruelty by firing upon the country men whenever they saw them running away etc. which occasioned a good many for their safety to enlist with the said General Gordon and that John Farqrson was one of those forced out in the manner named."

"Alex Grant in Elick in the parish of Kirkmichael, married man, aged 60 years and upwards, deponed the same and that he heard John Farqson, above named, offer Glenbucket a sum of money to let him go and stay at home and not join in the rebellion, which Glenbucket absolutely refused, and said he was too good a man to be borrowed by a sum of money and that they had gold and money, plenty of their own. The said John Farqson after he was some time with the rebels, deserted from them and skulked in the county for near twenty days, but was a second time forced out by the same John Gordon.

Angus Stuart was Ey and Hear witness of these things."

This document, after being further attested by Samuel Grant, Victualler, of Berwick Street, who made

oath that he was acquainted with the handwriting of the J.P.s in question, was put forward when John Farquharson came up for trial, but was not accepted. John Farquharson swore, therefore, that he "could not with safety to his life go to tryall unless the others, summoned from Scotland, arrived, and he is sure they will come unless some unavoidable accident or calamity has happened to prevent them."

This plea was accepted and, on the motion of Robert Gordon, the trial was postponed until 30th October 1746.

When the date arrived the unfortunate witnesses, last heard of at South Shields, had not appeared. They were presumably drowned, and nothing remained for poor John Farquharson but to withdraw his plea of not guilty and throw himself on the King's mercy. The trial took place on 8th November, and on 15th November Farquharson, along with his cousin Monaltrie had sentence pronounced upon him and execution fixed for 28th November. They had a last minute reprieve, due to the fact of so many petitions having been presented in their favour by the Whigs and ministers of their native country.

John Farquharson remained in the New Gaol, Southwark, for six months after his reprieve, and was then (partly owing to the advocacy of General Abercromby, M.P.) removed to the house of Mr. Money, the Messenger, where he remained until April, 1748. On 13th April he, with a number of others, was "pardoned on condition of transportation," and Mr. Money was charged "to keep him safe." Possibly this Messenger's house was over full, as John Farquharson would seem to have been transferred to that of the more famous Mr. Dick, and either from the latter's house, or while being conveyed there, he escaped on 21st April 1748 and managed to make his way to France.

Mr. Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury, who was so fond of classifying the Scottish officers lying under sentence of death, says, "He called himself a gentleman, but I am informed at the tyme he entered into the Rebellion he was only a farmer by way of under tenant

in the county of Aberdeen, and is but a low (i.e., poor) man."

Unlike nearly all the Jacobite officers who narrowly escaped death, we have many details of John Farquharson's after life, and a series of most interesting letters, which he wrote to Bishop Forbes, is printed in the "Lyon in Mourning."

One signed "Brutus Scotorum," and written in the third person, describes how the surgeons among the Scots prisoners were prevented from attending on their own countrymen, "and one John Farqson of Alderg, who was I believe a kind of Highland blooder had his lancet taken out of his pocket for fear he should begin to blood them after his Highland way, to save some of the wounded to have fallen in fever."

Later letters to Bishop Forbes from "Dunkerque" show that John Farquharson and his wife lived there peaceably for many years. In 1771 he sends a message to his mother that he "is not that ungrateful debauched child he was represented to her, but has now fairly turned physician, and has made this year wondrous cures." On 25th April 1772 he announces, "I had almost lost this winter my poor old caillich (wife) by a fall she got from the top to the bottom of the stair. She was greatly hurt, but thank God, now on the way to recovery, tho' slowly. Otherwise she and I keep health pretty well, considering our years (he was then 60). We have had a very great mortality in this town all this winter and it continues still, but thank God, the Scots bodies are teuch and hold out. Tis only amongst the flabby Flamans and silly French. My poor half-bruised caiflach joins me most heartily in compliments to yourself and lady and as sure as a candle is a candle I am yours to serve you while

JOHNY FARQUHARSON."

In the following month he announces to Bishop Forbes that "the Chevalier de St. George, or as some of his followers here call him, King Charles the third, has been married with a daughter of the Prince of Stolberg."

In 1775 Bishop Forbes sends him to Dunkirk a cask of oatmeal and two mutton hams, and adds, "May you soon and happily visit Scotia's hills and dales and get a lick of my ladle to your own hearts contentment and all honest men's," but apparently John Farquharson never returned to Scotland, and the date of his death is unknown.

Farquharson, Father John.

Was the third son of Lewis Farquharson of Auchindryne and Margaret Farquharson of Allanaquoich. Both his immediate elder brother, William, who succeeded to Auchindryne, and his younger brother, Charles (q.v.), were concerned in the Rising.

John was born in the year 1699 at Braemar. He left Scotland in 1714 and studied at Douai, where he was ordained. In 1729 he returned to Scotland by order of the General of the Jesuits and settled at Strathglass, near Inverness, where he remained until 1746. In Strathglass he studied Gaelic and made the first known collection of Gaelic poetry. Unfortunately, the MS. was subsequently lost at Douai. Father John and his brother Charles were arrested as Jacobites in July 1746 and confined for a long time on board the ship "Pamela" at Woolwich. Both these priests were held to be saints and were loved by all. They were subsequently removed to Tilbury Fort, and, in 1747, were discharged on condition of "leaving the country."

Father John went to Douai about 1753, and was for several years Prefect of Studies in the Scots College there and was then transferred to Dinant. Returning to Scotland in 1773, he went to Strathdee, where he acted as chaplain to his nephew, Alexander Farquharson of Inverey and died on 22nd August 1782, aged 83. He was buried in the old churchyard of St. Andrew at Castletown of Braemar.

Farquharson, John Dow.

In the List of Rebels he is entered as "Servant in Auchreachan. Served in the Rebel Army as a private

man; has submitted." At the time of making up the list it is stated that he was "in the Glens," where he probably remained until the Act of Indemnity freed him from anxiety. He was most likely a servant to Donald Farquharson of Auchriachan, and may even have been a relative, as one member of this family had a natural son called John Dow.

Farquharson, Lewis, Farmer, Bog, Tarland.

Was a son of Alexander Farquharson of Tullycairn, his mother being a daughter of Peter Gordon of Blelack. Alexander was the eldest son by the 3rd marriage of John Farquharson of Tullycairn.

It is said that Lewis Farquharson was one of three brothers who came from Crathie in Braemar and settled in Logie-Coldstone—that is, near Blelack, the home of their mother.

The name of Lewis Farquharson's wife is not known, but descendants of Lewis still survive, and the family tradition is that he and his seven sons were killed at Culloden. The number of sons is correct, though it is doubtful if they all met their deaths on 16th April, 1746.

The Brouchdearg MS. gives the names of three of the sons, namely, *Francis*, *John* and *Charles*. The names of the others were *Robert*, *Alexander*, *Lewis* and *Harry*. In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels only three of these are mentioned, viz.:—

"*Francis Farquharson*, Farmer, Bogg, Tarland. Carried arms as an officer at Culloden. Killed.

John Farquharson, Farmer, Bogg, Tarland. An Ensign at Culloden Battle. Killed."

Robert Farquharson, Farmer, Bogg, Tarland. An Ensign at Culloden Battle. Killed.

No mention is made in the list of Lewis or his four other sons, so possibly they came safely through the battle. Undoubtedly the son Harry must have survived, as he had a son and grandson both called Harry. The latter was born in 1795, and had a daughter, Harriet Farquharson, who was the grandmother of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

Farquharson, Robert Dow.

Was probably a servant to John Farquharson of Allargue, as he is described as living at Ellick (often called Eliet) in Glenconglass, Banffshire. At the time of making up the Rebel List Robert Dow's whereabouts were unknown, and he may have escaped any after effects of his Jacobite sympathies. It is probable that he also was a natural son, possibly of some member of the Allargue family (the cognomen "Dow" being frequently used in such cases).

Farquharson, Robert, Mill of Auchriachan.

Was of the Auchriachan family, and seems to have had a tack of the Mains and Mill there. In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels he is described as living at the "Mill of Achrachan," as being an ensign in the Jacobite Army, and "was at the Spoiling of Culloden House. At home." Culloden House is, of course, a mistake for Cullen House, belonging to the Earl of Findlater, which was pillaged by a Jacobite force under Major Glascoe on 8th April 1746.

Robert Farquharson came safely through the Jacobite Rising, and in 1755 was living in Glenorchy, where possibly he married his wife, Sophia Macgregor, for his eldest son, William, was born there in that year. Robert appears to have returned to Auchriachan, where he died. In Jervise's "Burial Grounds" there is a quotation from a tombstone at Kirkmichael, showing that Robert Farquharson died 179—, William, his son, in 1811, and Alexander, the last in the male line, in 1835. Janet Farquharson, Robert's daughter, married James Cameron, whose descendants state that Robert Farquharson died 29th February 1808, so possibly the 179— was cut before his death.

His wife, Sophia Macgregor, predeceased him in May, 1769, aged 59.

Farquharson, Robert.

Is described in the Rebel List as "deserter from Lord Loudoun's Regiment" and his home is given as

"Tullich, Glenmuick." He is also stated to have been "an Ensign in the rebel army at the Battle of Culloden," and that later on he was "lurking." No information has been obtained as to his family, but he certainly lived in the Farquharson country. One can only hope that he was never captured, for in that case, as a deserter from the Hanoverian army, he would certainly have been shot.

Farquharson, William, of the Auchindryne family.

Son of Lewis Farquharson of Auchindryne, and brother of the two Jesuit priests, Father John and Father Charles. Mr. A. M. Mackintosh, the historian of the Farquharsons, says that William took possession of Auchindryne after the death of his elder brother, Alistair (who died before 1739), and as tutor to his nephew, Alexander. "The Legends of the Braes of Mar" states that "William was a poor man and though the Laird's brother and afterwards his nephew's tutor, supported himself by the labour of his hands." In 1745 he joined Prince Charles' army and was present at Culloden. "The Legends" is also responsible for the following:— "On the morning of the battle, the company commanded by William Farquharson, reached a small farm not far from Culloden. He halted to refresh his men. After breakfast they danced and William played the 'Braes of Mar.' While thus engaged the thunder of the cannon at Culloden reached them but — it was too late — the Highland army was routed. William broke his violin over his knees and never played again." He afterwards escaped to Braemar. The house of Auchindryne, which stood on the north side of the road to Inverey, was burnt to the ground after the '45.

Farquharson, William, Farmer, Tarland.

Is thus described in Lord Rosebery's List, with the additional information that he "assisted in raising men for the Rebels." Apparently after Culloden he must have gone into hiding, as at the time the list was made up it was not known where he was.

It is probable that he was one of the three brothers of the Tullycairn family who came from Crathie, as mentioned under Lewis Farquharson (and his seven sons).[1]

Fleming, Patrick, of Auchintoul, Aberdeenshire.

Does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List. The Flemings of Auchintoul were a very old Aberdeenshire family. It is said they entered into possession of the property after the battle of Harlaw in 1411, and Patrick Fleming of Auchintoul of the '45 is described as the 14th laird of the name. He led the men of Gairnside, and he was reported to have been the best swordsman in the Prince's army. He and his neighbour, McGregor of Inverenzie, commanded one of the parties sent in to Aberdeen in the early days of the Rising. At Culloden these two were wounded at the same time, a ball having broken one of Patrick Fleming's legs. They lay on the field all day and at night a party of Hanoverian soldiers, in passing over the stricken field, noticed that McGregor moved, so he was promptly despatched with a bayonet. Patrick Fleming feigned death, hoping to escape observation. Unfortunately for him, he happened to be wearing a pair of good boots, and these attracted the attention of the soldiers, one of whom pulled a boot off the sound leg. Fleming did not move. Then the soldier proceeded to possess himself of the other. Roughly he seized the broken leg and pulled off the boot! The agony which Patrick Fleming endured must have been terrible but he lay quiet, apparently lifeless, and let the broken limb fall to the ground from the soldier's hand. This fortitude saved his life, as the party departed leaving him for dead. How he ultimately escaped and evaded the clutches of the law is not known, but he lived for some years after Culloden and returned to Aberdeenshire. The house of Auchintoul was burnt by the Hanoverian soldiers, and Fleming, whose fortunes had fallen rather low owing to a law suit, was compelled to sell the property and died in great poverty.

[1] See page 179.

Forbes, Benjamin, younger, of Edinglassie.

According to Colonel Lachlan Forbes, "Benjamin Forbes, born after 1705, son of Lachlan Forbes of Edinglassie in Strathdon, and a cousin of George Forbes of Skellater," was out in the '45. He was "wounded at Culloden, but managed to get safely away and escaping to France was made a Captain in Lord Ogilvie's Regiment in the French service and a Chevalier de St. Louis." It has not been possible definitely to identify this man with anyone in Lord Rosebery's List. The only one of similar description is: "Benjamin Forbes, Merchant, Aberdeen. Carried arms from the commencement of the Rebellion to the Battle of Culloden." This may possibly be Benjamin Forbes, younger, of Edinglassie.

Forbes, George, of Skellater, though a prominent Jacobite, does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List.

He was the eldest son of George Forbes, 4th of Skellater and Isobel Gordon of Blelack. The date of his birth is unknown. He married Christian Gordon, daughter of "Old Glenbucket," and had 3 sons (1) William, 6th and last laird of Skellater, which he sold to Forbes of Newe; (2) Ian Roy, who became a Marshal of Portugal; (3) Nathaniel.

George Forbes joined the Rising of 1745 and held a Lieutenant-Colonel's commission in the Prince's army. He was attended by a half-witted man, who acted as his henchman. At Culloden, during the early stage of the battle, this follower was holding George Forbes's pony by the bridle, the laird himself standing close by. Suddenly a cannon shot dashed the pony's head to pieces. Thinking nothing of himself, but only of the loss to his master, the faithful servant exclaimed indignantly, "See, Laird, what they've done to your pownie!" After the battle, George Forbes made his way back to Skellater, accompanied by a certain number of men, for the Rev. John Bisset wrote in his Diary, under date 19th May 1746, "I hear two of the shepherds and Mr. James Lumsden have written to our governors that Skellater and other gentlemen have some body of men in Strathdon."

Later on, George Forbes concealed himself in a birch-wood on the hill of Delhandy, on the south side of the Don, in view of Skellater House. On one occasion he had a severe fright. A party of soldiers, commanded by Lord Ancrum, came over Lonach Hill and marched down upon Skellater House. George Forbes watched anxiously from his hiding place, expecting to see his house in flames and his family driven out. Christian Forbes advanced to meet the soldiers, leading her children and carrying in her hand the keys of the house, which she presented to the commander, in token of submission. Lord Ancrum bowed courteously to the lady, returned her the keys, and requested her to go back with her children to the house. It must have been an anxious time for George Forbes as he watched these proceedings. Lord Ancrum withdrew his men and marched up the Strath to lay siege to Corgarf Castle, which also belonged to Forbes, and was at that time still held by a party of the rebels. No proceedings of any kind were taken by the Government against the family of Skellater, and the estate escaped confiscation. After lurking for a time, George Forbes escaped to France, where he shared in the division of the French government's bounty to the extent of 1,500 francs on 7th November 1746. Not being excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, he might have returned to Scotland and lived peacefully as the Laird of Skellater, but he never did so. Once safely in France he apparently preferred to plot with others in the Stuart interest. He obtained a captain's commission in the regiment raised by Lord Ogilvie in 1747 amongst the Jacobite exiles, and served with it at the siege of Maestricht in 1748. In December 1752 the English Government was informed that Skellater, Lochgary, the unfortunate Dr. Cameron, and other Jacobite leaders, were about to cross to Scotland and concert measures with the Highland chiefs at the great cattle fair at Crieff. Nothing is known of Skellater's adventures on this fruitless expedition. If he really came over, he escaped capture and returned safely to France, where he ultimately died at Boulogne in October 1767 and his wife in January 1784 at Delhandy.

Two side lights are thrown upon George Forbes of Skellater by references to him in the State Papers.

One of Lord Albemarle's anonymous informers announces that after the landing of the French treasure in May 1746 "Forbes of Skellater began to gather his men together again." Fletcher, the Lord Justice Clerk, also says at the same time that "the arrival of the French ships at Arisaig on May 1st, makes the rebels turn dizzy again."

The other belongs to the year 1748, when General Humphrey Bland, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, writes to the Lord Advocate to announce that he was about to put a garrison into Corgarf Castle, "The owner, Mr. Forbes of Skellater having forfeited his estate to the Crown by accepting of a Captain's Commission in the French service in Ogilvie's regt."

The Lord Advocate replies that "though George Forbes was a very notorious rebel, he being neither attainted by Act of Parliament, nor, upon trial, by due course of law, his estate or this Castle is certainly not forfeited actually, or vested in the crown, and is therefore not at this day liable to be seized or taken possession of as such." "If it be thought proper to proceed against this person or any other rebels in this country," Grant continues, "the Government must send down law officers skilled in the method of procedure in the cases of High Treason, as was done in 1717 and 1718" (tho' with very small success at that time!)

Forbes, George.

Not in Lord Rosebery's List. He was an Aberdeenshire farmer, and in the Parish Register of Leochel-Cushnie he is described as living "in Boghead" in 1745. He is said to have been with the Jacobite army under Jonathan Forbes of Brux, but no details of his career are known. He married, but his wife's name does not appear in the Parish Register; he had 2 sons and 1 daughter. The second son, Peter, had a son, James Forbes, M.A., minister in Melbourne. The latter married, in 1845, Helen Johanna, eldest daughter of the Rev. James Clow, chaplain in Bombay, and died in 1851.

Forbes, Jonathan, of Brux.

The Supervisor of Excise, who made up the List of Rebels for the Old Meldrum district, says that "Jonathan Forbes, Farmer, Brux, Kildrummie, joined the Rebel Army" and possessed "22000 Merkes," which elsewhere is (incorrectly) stated to be worth £1,000 sterling. In the "Indices of Heirs," Jonathan is described as the second son of Roderick Forbes, 10th Laird of Brux, when he was served heir to his brother Robert, the eldest son, in July 1751. Jonathan was born in 1710, and, whilst Scotland was at peace, was a farmer at the Mains of Brux (originally called "The Tower of Brux") on Donside. When once the call of Prince Charles was heard Jonathan did not hesitate, but with his great friends, John Lumsden of Ardhuncart and Peter Smith of Auchline, he hastened to join the Jacobite army, and was with it throughout the campaign. He was present with his henchman, a man named Hosie (who occupied the farm of Dukerton, Brux) at the battle of Culloden, where his friends, John Lumsden and Peter Smith, were both killed. In later years he used to relate that before he left the field of Culloden he "let daylicht into three of the English deevils." Having safely escaped, he returned to Brux, and, by assuming a variety of disguises, managed to evade the parties of Hanoverian troops who were sent from Alford and Corgarf to arrest him. He employed himself when at Brux in building dykes, and it is related that on one occasion a party of soldiers came unexpectedly upon him when he was thus employed. Being asked if he knew whether the laird was at home, he calmly replied, "Od, he wis at hame fin I was at me brakfast," and the soldiers hurried on to search! The present Brux Lodge, erected in 1888, is constructed partly out of the stones which Jonathan used in his dyke building. For some considerable time he lived about Brux, using two hiding places or caves, one on the north and the other on the south side of Coiliochvar, and in these he spent many days and nights, varied by ascents to the top of the hill to watch the movements of the parties who were scouring the district for him. To relieve the monotony he went to the Lothians and

worked one harvest there, returning to Brux at the end of the season. For a time also he and Charles Gordon of Blelack were hidden in the manse of Towie, by connivance of the minister, only daring to come out at night. Later on he lived at the Park of Brux and at Edinbanchory, and as the hunt for him relaxed he was able to go about the country a little more openly. In the museum at Clova is preserved an iron key and a door plate and handle, with the date 1791 on it, which came from the old house of Park of Brux. Jonathan's attachment to Brux was so great that he decided to be buried on the estate, and, with this object, some years before his death, prepared a grave in the Howff Park, enclosed with a wall believed to have been constructed by himself. The site overlooks the Don and commands an extensive view. It is said that when his mother was dying she remonstrated with her son against being herself buried in such a spot and declared that she would not "lie in that cauld out-o'-the-warld place!" Brux replied, "We'll try ye there first, mither, an' gin ye winna lie then we'll shift ye to the auld kirkyard!" Jonathan Forbes, who was a Quaker, never married, and entailed the lands of Brux upon the second son of the Lord Forbes in each generation. He spent the latter years of his life chiefly in Aberdeen, and, according to the *Aberdeen Journal,* died there on 26th October 1801, aged 91. His silver watch, made by John Gartly, Aberdeen, is now preserved at Castle Forbes.

Forbes, Robert, of Corse.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is described as "Farmer, Corse, Aberdeen, a Lieutenant, made prisoner at Carlisle."

He was of the family of Corse, but was himself a tenant of some farm "within eleven miles of the town of Banff," the name of which is nowhere given, and from which he supplied Cope's army with hay, corn and straw in September 1745.

When he was a prisoner at Southwark awaiting trial in September 1746, a petition was sent from the Freeholders, Justices of the Peace and ministers of

Banffshire, "in favour of George Abernethie and Robert Forbes, who were always reputed persons of good character, probity and of a peaceful disposition and well esteemed in the county." Another petition from the Town Council of Banff, in favour of Robert Forbes, describes him as "a Farmer, and useful to his country." The Magistrates of Aberdeen petitioned in the same strain.

Although described in Lord Rosebery's List as a lieutenant, he was actually captain in command of a company in the garrison at Carlisle, and formed one of the council consulted by John Hamilton, the Governor of the Castle, as to the surrender, which Forbes is said to have urged. With the rest of the officers (twelve of them from Banffshire and Aberdeenshire), he was sent to London in February 1746 and lodged in Newgate, where he still was on 17th July 1746. Before his trial he asked for witnesses from his own country, viz., "Thomas Brown of Huntly, Gentleman, William Patterson of Keith, Merchant, and Alexander Porter of Corse, Labourer." *(Baga de Secretis.)* It is not stated whether they arrived or not. His trial came on on the 24th October 1746 and he was unanimously acquitted, being the *only* one of the officers taken at Carlisle who was thus fortunate.

The proceedings were as follows:—

"Robert Forbes was put to the Bar and it was proved by the witnesses for the King, that he acted as a Captain in the rebel army and appeared as such, being dressed in a Scots plaid, a Sash and Bonnet etc. and that when Carlisle surrendered to the Duke, he acknowledged himself of Aberdeenshire and tenant to the Duke of Gordon; that he was forced from his own house and family by a strong party of Rebels, that before the rebel army marched out of Scotland he attempted several times to make his escape, and it was further proved by Margaret Innes and another witness that several of the prisoner's friends had consulted with them by what means to make his escape from Carlisle and that it was determined he should put on women's apparel, which he did accordingly and thereby endeavoured to get away.

It was further proved that he had several times attempted to get over the walls of the Castle of Carlisle by the help of ropes, but that he was always hindered by the Rebel Guard who suspected him and had given information to their principal officer who gave the Centinal a strict charge to keep a watchful eye over him; and it also appeared to the satisfaction of the Court and Jury that it was impossible he could have escaped. . . . The trial lasted four hours, and the Jury without going out of Court, decided it was for the honour of the crown to Acquit the prisoner, who was accordingly ordered to have his irons knocked off, which was done, and he was discharged out of custody."—("Trials of the Rebels.")

Nothing is known of his subsequent history.

His wife was Anne Abernethie, probably a relation of Captain George Abernethie his fellow prisoner. Nothing at all is known of her, except the following letter discovered by chance in a miscellaneous bundle of papers at the Record Office, which was taken from a Jacobite messenger who ran between the army encamped outside Edinburgh in October 1745 and various parts of the north.

"To Robert Forbes of Corse Esqr. at Edinburgh.

Huntly, 21 Oct. 1745.

My dearest,

I take the opportunity of Mr Leith's servant who tells me he seed you well the day he left Edin: I was surprised you did not write me, as it seems you knew of his coming to this countree, but I must own I have no reason to complain of your negligence that way—I was glad to hear by your last of your getting safe up and that matters as yet with respect to you have been so lucky. You cannot imagine how many different accounts we hear of you. We have a surmise here that Cope was taken by a detachment of the Prince's army maken his escape into England — However it is not to be looked upon as a fact. We hear likewise there is to be a fight, before you have Edin: if to be soe, I pray God may take care of you and I'll trust in Him who can only support me and everyone under their tryals. I hope a short time will determine you affairs. I will be glad to

hear if my brother William have joyned the army or not. Yr Moy and sister ofers ther best respects to you

In hart I am my dearest life yours till death

ANNE ABERNETHIE."

Forbes, Robert, 5th son of John Forbes of Newe, is not mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List. He has frequently been confused with Robert Forbes of Corse, and it is only by a careful study of the various petitions in favour of each, preserved in the Record Office, that it has been possible to differentiate between them.

Robert Forbes of Newe, who was quite young, joined the Prince's forces at Edinburgh (urged thereto by the persuasions of Lord Pitsligo), and went with them into England, was present at the capture of Carlisle and marched with the army to Derby and back. He did not form part of the garrison of Carlisle, but apparently had made personal friends there and when, after being with the Prince in Glasgow, he deserted from the Jacobite army at Stirling, he endeavoured to make his way back to Carlisle, intending to follow in England the trade of a cabinetmaker, to which he had been bred. He was apprehended between Dumfries and Carlisle in January 1746 and was kept in prison at Carlisle, with the other Scots taken in Scotland, until October 1747. On 21st October 1746 (after having been in prison for nine months) he was tried for the second time; the first having been on 15th September, when he pleaded guilty. At the second trial he was condemned to be hanged on 15th November with Charles Gordon of Terpersie, James Innes and others at Brampton. But the interest which had been exerted for him obtained a reprieve and eventually a pardon, conditional on his going abroad to serve in the King's forces under Admiral Boscawen in the East Indies. On 4th October 1747 he was actually on his way to Portsmouth to join this expedition when he absolutely refused to sign the papers required, and, in consideration of his youth and bad health (it was said he would not live a month on shipboard), a free pardon

was finally granted to him; and he returned to Aberdeenshire and his parents.

One of the petitions (the number of which eventually secured success) begins with his birth certificate:—

"On November 3, 1727, the said day John Forbes of Newe had a son baptised, called Robert, before witnesses, Robert Forbes of Brux and George Forbes of Bellabeg." Extracted from the records of the Kirk Session at Newe on 5th September, 1746, by John Lumsden, minister of Strathdon.

(This document goes to prove that Forbes was nearly nineteen at the time of his trial, and not seventeen as he pleaded, but the discrepancy does not seem to have been noticed!)

Further evidence in this same petition is given by Mrs. Grace Blacklock that "he stayed twice in her house at Carlisle, going to Derby and returning and was most civil and peaceable, and always spoke well of the King and Cumberland. That he had two brothers, officers under Cumberland and that he greatly regretted being with the rebels. He had no cockade or Highland dress. Was apprehended near Carlisle *after* he had left the rebels."

When he deserted he went to the house of Patrick Dundas, surgeon in Airth, near Stirling, who also vouched for the strength of his Whig principles. (Evidence taken on Commission in Carlisle, 16th September 1746.)

While in Glasgow with the Highland army Robert Forbes was billeted on the Rev. Dr. Leechman, Professor of Divinity in the University, and another petition says:

"It consists with Mr. Leechman's knowledge that the prisoner remained behind and deserted when H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland had driven the rebels from Stirling, and was taken at Carlisle on his way to follow his business in London, after he had deserted the rebels."

Mr. David Forbes, a divine of the Established Church of Scotland, witnesses to the effect that "the prisoner told him his parents were very staunch and

loyall subjects to His Majesty King George and were so angry with the prisoner for having allowed himself to be seduced by the rebells, contrary to the principles in which they had educated him, that he was afraid to return to his parents or to see his Brothers, who are officers in the King's Service and well affected." It was also stated that "the Rebell Gentlemen at Stirling said they wished to be quit of the prisoner, for they would be obliged to put him to death, for he did their cause more harm than good."

Two Edinburgh citizens also signed a petition in his favour, Alexander Harley, merchant, and William Murray, printer, under whom Forbes had been learning the art of printing.

The Provincial Synod of Aberdeen (23 ministers) approached Lord President Forbes on his behalf, and the Earl of Findlater also bestirred himself (though, as usual, somewhat half-heartedly when asked to intercede for those in trouble). He certified that he knew Forbes "to be of loyal family."

Another petition, dated 31st July 1746, describes him as "a younger son of a family remarkable for its attachment to the Protestant succession and particularly distinguished for their loyalty during the rebellion of 1715."

In the list compiled by Mr. Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury, he appears among "those Rebel prisoners under sentence of death who do not properly fall under the designation of Gentlemen, but are above the rank of Common men. He bears a very good character and has no estate."

Probably the crowning stroke, and that which saved Robert Forbes' life, was a letter from the Lord Advocate of Scotland, William Grant of Prestongrange, M.P., to Andrew Stone, as follows:—"August 8, 1747. Sir, This morning a lady who is a near relation and a very good subject of the King as all her family are *(it was his sister!)* brought me a letter to her from Mrs. Forbes, Mother to Captain Forbes of Now, of the Earl of Loudon's Regiment and to Lt. William Forbes of the Scots Royal, who was wounded dangerously at Hulst

and also to Robert, a young man now or lately at Carlisle, having been a rebel, reprieved by his Majesty. This lady writes to my friend in these words. 'Although I have not the honour of your Lap's acquaintance, I have presumed to write to you of an affair of the greatest importance to me. No doubt you have heard of a poor misfortunate boy of mine who has been miserable these seventeen months past in the prison of Carlisle under irons. I am informed there is a hundred of these prisoners to be transported and I am not sure but he may be one of them. We frequently hear from the boy himself and we understand that by so long confinement his constitution and health is broke and if he be banished he cannot live half the voyage so that I may conclude him lost. I have another son in the King's Service who was dangerously wounded at the Battle of Hulst and I know not if he be dead or in life—it is hard to lose all. I am loath to trouble yr Lap. with so much writing, but if you could doe me any service as to this poor boy by your brother's interest, I pray you may be rewarded in Heaven.' I confess I was moved with the circumstance of the son at Hulst, which as it heightens the distress of the poor lady, appears to me to afford an argument for shewing her farther compassion in respect of the younger son, the rebel."

Prestongrange therefore begs that the matter may be laid before the Duke of Newcastle, and the weight of his advocacy, added to that of all the ministers and other Whigs already mentioned, availed to secure the pardon of young Robert Forbes. One cannot help feeling that he got rather more than his deserts. Nothing is known of his after life, or whether he proved himself useful to the Government which had spared him.

Forbes, The Rev. Robert, M.A., Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and compiler of that wonderful work, "The Lyon in Mourning."

He was born in 1708, the son of Charles Forbes, schoolmaster of Rayne, Aberdeenshire, and his wife, Marjory Wright. He went to Marischal College, Aberdeen, at the age of 14, and graduated there 4 years

later. In 1735 he was ordained priest in the Scottish Episcopal Church, and became assistant and then colleague to the Rev. William Law at Leith. In this place he lived and worked until his death in 1775, and is buried in the Maltman's aisle of South Leith Parish Church.

Like nearly all the Episcopalians of the period, he was a keen Jacobite, and early in September, 1745, set out from Leith to join the Prince in the west. As he himself describes it:—"A great interruption has happened, by my misfortune of being taken prisoner at St. Ninian's (in company with 4 friends and 2 servants) upon Saturday the 7th day of September, 1745, and confined in Stirling Castle till 4th February, 1746, and in Edinburgh Castle till May 29th of the same year. We were 7 in number, taken upon the 7th day of the week, the 7th day of the month, and the 7th month of the year, reckoning from March."

He seems to have been quite kindly treated in his imprisonment, save only that when being moved from Stirling to Edinburgh he and the other prisoners were, by Albemarle's orders, roped together. Owing to his having been incarcerated the whole time of the Rising, he took no active part, but the memorials he has left form one of the chief sources of the personal history of the Jacobites.

After his release from Edinburgh Castle he resided in the Citadel of Leith, in the house of Dame Magdalene Scott, Lady Bruce of Kinross, a wealthy member of his congregation, until 1749, when he married his first wife, Agnes Gairey. After her death, which occurred a few months later, he married Rachel Houston of Johnstone, Renfrew. This lady was an ardent Jacobite, and frequently sent presents to Scottish exiles in France, and even on one occasion to Royalty itself. For in 1769 the Bishop records that "Mrs. Forbes had given the two fellow travellers a piece of seedcake which they took entire to the King." (Prince Charles, whose father had died three years previously.) "Ay," he said, "a piece of cake from Scotland, and from Edinburgh too!" Then rising from his seat and opening a drawer, "Here,"

said he, "you see me deposit it and no teeth shall go upon it but my own."

In 1762 Forbes was appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and in 1767 was elected Bishop of Aberdeen by the local clergy, but for some reason the College of Bishops disallowed the election and installed someone else. He was much disappointed as to this, presumably because he himself belonged to Aberdeenshire, but does not appear to have taken his episcopal duties in Ross and Caithness very seriously, as it is said he only went there twice!

His chief title to fame is, of course, the collection which he made of original documents bearing upon the Jacobite cause from the year 1745 until his own death. During his imprisonment and subsequent residence in Edinburgh, he had unrivalled opportunities of meeting most of the leaders of the Rising who had survived, and he carried on an active correspondence with many of them for nearly 30 years afterwards.

"The Lyon in Mourning" consists of 10 folio volumes, of which the last, which is incomplete, was only begun in the year of Bishop Forbes' death. It is all in manuscript and copied out in his own hand. The volumes are bound in black leather, with blackened edges, and various relics connected with the Prince, such as portions of his garters and of the dress which he wore as Betty Burke, etc., are fastened inside the covers. The title refers to the "Lion of Scotland."[1]

Bishop Forbes always refused to print the work, only rarely showed it, and then to specially favoured friends. After his wife's death it was sold, and portions of it used by Dr. Robert Chambers in his "Jacobite Memoirs." It was not published as a whole until 1895 by the Scottish History Society. Many particulars about various Jacobites used in the present work have been taken from this valuable storehouse.

The following characteristic letter to one of the unfortunate prisoners on board the "Pamela" shows how Forbes collected his material:—

[1]These volumes form one of the most treasured possessions of the National Library of Scotland.

"Reverend Dear Brother,

I beg you'll give me in your own handwriting as minute and circumstantial an account as possible how you happened to be made prisoner, when and where, what hardships and civilities you met with and from whom, during the time of your tedious and severe confinement, for I love truth — let who will be either justified or condemned by it. As far as your memory can serve, have a particular attention to dates and names of persons and of places, and omit not to give a particular account how, when and by whom your liberation was at last happily brought about. Spare not words, and after drawing out the history of your distress, let it lie by you for some time before you dispatch it to me, that so you may have leisure to reconsider it and to insert anything you may have forgotten to mention. . . . Your history is to have a place in my Collection. . . . In complying with these my desires, you will singularly oblige, Reverend dear sir,

Your sincere friend and humble servant,

ROBERT FORBES."

Forbes, William, in Edindiach.

Col. Lachlan Forbes states that William was born in 1713, being the son of William Forbes, Farmer, in Edindiach, near Huntly, and his wife Mary Petrie. Young William served as an officer in Lord Forbes of Pitsligo's Horse in 1745. He is not mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List, and nothing more is known about him, save that he married a daughter of Baillie John Cruickshank of Banff, and had one son, George Forbes, who became Sheriff-Substitute of Banff.

Fraser, Charles, younger, of Inverallochy.

Does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List. He was born in 1725, the eldest son of Charles Fraser of Inverallochy and his wife, Anne, only daughter of John Udny of Udny. Charles Fraser, senior, had inherited the property of Muchil, or Castle Fraser (Kemnay, Aberdeenshire), on the death of his step-grandfather,

Charles, 4th and last Lord Fraser, who lost his life by falling over a precipice at Pennan, near Banff, while in hiding after the '15. Charles Fraser, younger, of Inverallochy commanded the Frasers at Culloden in the absence of the Master of Lovat.[1] Charles Fraser was killed at Culloden, and the story of his death is very tragic. It was given by Sir Henry Seton Steuart of Allarton in the "Antijacobin Review" of 1802, as follows:—"When the celebrated General Wolfe (at this period a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army) was riding over the field of battle with the D—— of C—mb—l—d, they observed a Highlander, who, though severely wounded, was yet able to sit up, and, leaning on his arm, seemed to smile defiance at them. 'Wolfe,' said the D——, 'shoot me that Highland scoundrel, who dares thus to look on us with such contempt and insolence!' 'My commission,' replied the manly officer, 'is at your R——l H——s's disposal, but I never can consent to become an *executioner.*' " It was said that other officers refusing to commit this act of butchery, a private soldier, at the command of the Duke, shot the hapless youth before his eyes.[2] In 1749 the Rev. James Hay, writing to Bishop Forbes, said that Fraser's body lay on the field of battle, "a place in the opinion of some of his friends preferable to the finest buriall place."

The Frasers of Inverallochy were the senior cadets of Lord Lovat's clan, and the Lovat estates had been entailed upon them and next upon the Frasers of Strichen, who ultimately obtained them on the failure of the direct Lovat line.

Fraser, William, Inverallochy.

In Lord Rosebery's List he appears as "Brother to Inveralichy, Lonmay, Aberdeen. Joined the Rebel Army at Edinburgh. Worth of Stock—£1000." He

[1]Who was coming up with 300 additional men, and when half way between Inverness and Culloden met the Highlanders flying from the battle.

[2]The above brutal order has sometimes been attributed to General Hawley instead of Cumberland.

was a brother of Charles Fraser, the owner of Inverallochy, and uncle of young Charles Fraser above. William Fraser lived at Cairness. In the '45 he probably served in the regiment commanded by his nephew. The *Aberdeen Journal* thus records his death in 1749:—"Last week died, much lamented by all his acquaintances, Mr. William Fraser (brother to Charles Fraser of Inverallochie) by the following misfortunate accident—After having supped very cheerfully, and in full Health, with a neighbouring gentleman, he went to take his Horse to go home, but when he made an attempt to mount, the Horse threw him amongst some stones, when his skull was so much fractured that he was killed upon the spot."

Fullarton, John, younger, of Dudwick.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is entered as "John Fullarton, Junior of Dudwick, Bowence, Cruden. Joined the Rebels at Edinburgh, returned when they left that place, but went out again. Rent of Estate—£166 13. 8." Cumberland's List, more moderately, gives the value as £150. ("Bowence," of course, should be Bowness.)

John Fullarton was the eldest son of John Fullarton of Dudwick and his wife, Mary Falconer, daughter of Sir David Falconer of Newton. John Fullarton, the elder, was originally an Udny, being the second son of Robert Udny of Auchterellon and his wife, Elizabeth Fullarton, only daughter of Colonel John Fullarton of Dudwick, but took the name of Fullarton when he succeeded his maternal grandfather in the lands of Dudwick.

John Fullarton, junior, took up arms for the Stuarts in October, 1745, and joined the Prince at Holyrood. Upon the departure of the army for England Fullarton left it and went home, but rejoined on its return to Scotland. After Culloden he wandered about the country disguised as a pedlar, and was often to be seen in various parts of the country pricing pigs! He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and at Edinburgh in October 1748, a True Bill of High Treason was found against him in his absence, but he was not apprehended.

He married Mary, daughter of Sir John Guthrie of King-Edward,[1] but had no issue. She died at Aberdeen in 1805, aged 87; he died on 4th April 1768, just one month before his father, and was succeeded by his brother Robert Fullarton, a Lieutenant-General in the Russian service.

The house of Dudwick, on the hill of Dudwick, was pulled down some years before 1880.

Garioch, Alexander, Merchant, Aberdeen, is described in the Rebel List as "Acted as Ensign during the whole Rebellion. Lurking."

Mr. John A. Henderson thinks that Alexander Garioch was a near relative, if not the son, of Alexander Garioch of Mergie, Kincardineshire, who, although an old man in 1745, was an ardent Jacobite and finally joined the Prince's army.

Alexander Garioch, Merchant, was probably quite young at the date of the Rising, and, after it was over, lay hid for a time. He appears to have married Anne Bannerman, daughter of Alexander Bannerman, and by her had 4 children. She died, aged 24, in 1772, near Aboyne and Alexander at Aberdeen, 3rd February 1802.

Gatt, Alexander, was a servant to Arthur Gordon of Carnousie.

He does not seem to have been a soldier, but, according to the list sent up by the Supervisor of Excise for the Banffshire district, he "was aiding and assisting in robbing James Paterson, carrier in Banff of a letter from Sir James Grant *(should be Ludovick Grant)* to the Laird of Macleod, which being carried to Lord Lewis Gordon, caused the action of Inverurie and the retreat of the Macleods."[2] He was not taken prisoner nor called as evidence.

[1]Whose other daughters, Anne and Christian, married respectively John Burnet, senior, of Campfield, and William Cumming of Pitullie.

[2]For this story see page 269.

Gill, Alexander, Shipmaster, Fraserburgh.

The eldest son of Alexander Gill, in the Mains of Pitfour, and Barbara Urquhart his wife, daughter of James Urquhart, Merchant in Fraserburgh. Young Alexander took to the sea. He married Isabel Catto, who, according to A. J. Mitchell Gill in his "Gill of Blairythan and Savock," was probably a daughter of George Catto in Fingask near Fraserburgh, and by her had 3 daughters. He joined the Jacobites early in the Rising, serving under Lord Pitsligo. He is mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List as having "assisted in apprehending Captain Alexander Grant going to join Lord Loudoun at Inverness and carrying him to Achmedden, Lord-Lieut. of Banff for the Rebels and their army, on their retreat to the Highlands." The "Achmedden" here mentioned is, of course, William Baird of Auchmedden. In this exploit Alexander Gill appears to have been assisted by William Christie, shipmaster, William Chalmers, baxter, George Chein, sailor, James Ferrier, sailor, and Alexander Morrison, sailor, all of Fraserburgh. Beyond this incident nothing is known of Gill.

Gordon, Alexander, of Craigwillie, near Huntly.

His name does not appear in any List of Rebels, but, according to a letter from Edinburgh of 7th August 1746, from John Grant of Delnabo to Robert Grant of Tamore, Alexander Gordon was brought at that date from Aberdeen to Edinburgh as a prisoner, so it must be concluded that he had in some way got mixed up in Jacobite affairs. John Grant says that he had not known that Gordon was amongst the prisoners, but that he was just about to make an application for him when he heard that he was liberated on bail. Grant adds that he himself was bail for him £100. It is possible that Alexander Gordon was only arrested on suspicion, as there is no other record of his being with the Jacobites, though his son, Robert, was with them for about a week. The Duchess of Gordon seems to have interested herself in his liberation. He must have been a man of mature age

in the '45. He and Robert Grant of Tamore had married sisters—the daughters of George Cumming of Reclettich (Mortlach). He had written to Grant of Tamore from Craigwillie in January 1746, complaining that his son, "Robie," had been induced to join the Jacobites, and asking Grant for a protection for his boy.

Alexander Gordon undoubtedly survived the '45, as he is mentioned in letters from Patrick Gordon of Aberlour and Robert Grant of Tamore in 1748.

Gordon, Robert, of Craigwillie, was the son of Alexander Gordon just mentioned.

The only reference to Robert Gordon being connected with the Jacobites is to be found in a letter from his father, written from Craigwillie, 13th January, 1746, to Robert Grant of Tamore (brother-in-law to Alexander), in which he says:—"I'me much straitened as to my son Robie. Some way or other he was induced by some comrads and others at Aberdeen to join Lord Lewis Gordon and I believe was with him eight or ten days, contrary to my inclinations, which is the occasion of my giveing you this trouble intreating the favour of you to see if possible you can make intrest with some gentlmen of distinction that has a command or concern in the Government, for a protection in case that he should be taken notice of by others, notwithstanding I am fully perswaded that he will plainly make it apear that he was never troublesome to aney person aney maner of way dureing that time. I shall not further insist only shall leave it to your prudent management."

Nothing further is known about Robert Gordon.

Gordon, Alexander, of Dorlaithers, senior.

Eldest son of George Gordon of Dorlaithers and Barbara Mackenzie of Ardloch.

The name is given in Rosebery's List as "Darlathis," and Gordon is said to have been a volunteer, whose "whereabouts" in the autumn of 1746 was not known. The yearly rent of his estate is given as £56-£60, and the condition of his house "pretty good." A number of men

seem to have been ready to give evidence against him, but he was never taken. He was educated at Douai.

He is said to have been present at Culloden with his servant, John Pirie, and on his return to have given a liferent tack of Woodend to the said John Pirie and John Pirie, his son.

In the year 1753 he was served heir to his uncle, Alexander Gordon, as laird of Auchintoul.

He died on the 2nd June, 1763, aged 58, and is buried in Turriff churchyard with his wife, Helen (second daughter of Alexander Irvine of Drum), who died 6th December, 1764, aged 64.

Gordon, Alexander, junior, of Dorlaithers.

Son of the above, is described in Rosebery's List as "an officer in the rebel army. Whereabouts unknown."

Some of the witnesses who offered evidence against his father were ready to depone against him, but he also was lucky enough to evade capture, although both father and son appear in a list in the State Papers of "those against whom Mr. Sharpe (Solicitor to the Treasury) is ready with evidence, but this will involve sending into Scotland which must take up a considerable time and be attended with great and in all probability fruitless expense." Nothing therefore was done. Alexander Gordon succeeded his father and died, unmarried, 30th March, 1768.

Gordon, Rev. Alexander, was "Minister of Gairnside. He accompanied all the following of Balmoral and became Chaplain to Farquharson of Monaltrie's Regiment. Residence, Gairnside, Braemar."

The "Legends of the Braes of Mar" gives these meagre details, which is all that is known of the minister.

Gordon, Rev. Alexander, of the Glencat family, a Roman Catholic priest,

"Discharged his duties in the Ministry of Glengairn, with great zeal and activity until the Jacobite rising of 1745 when he attached himself with many of his flock, to

the fortunes of Prince Charles Stuart. He was present at the disastrous defeat of Culloden and was taken prisoner and lodged in the jail of Inverness, where he died about three weeks after, a martyr without doubt to the misery and squalor which were the inseparable attendants of the dungeons used in those times in Scotland."—Catholic Directory.

He was chaplain to the French troops, being described in the list drawn up by the Marquis d'Eguilles as "Gourdon, Aumonier."

He was the son of John Gordon of Barrack and his wife, Joanna, and was educated at Douai.

Gordon, Alexander, of Letterfourie.

In Lord Rosebery's List appears "Alexander Gordon, farmer, Pattenbringan, Banff. A Volunteer in Pretender's son's Life-guards." He was the 4th son of James Gordon of Letterfourie, who had married a daughter of Sir William Dunbar of Durn.

Alexander had three elder brothers—(1) Peter, died young; (2) James, a wine merchant in Madeira, who succeeded his father in Letterfourie, and died there, unmarried, in 1790, aged 83; (3) William, who was robbed and murdered crossing the Alps in 1740.

The farm of Pattenbringan is now on the Seafield estate, near Cullen House. A letter, dated from this place, 17th July, 1745, from Alexander to his father, James Gordon, is still at Letterfourie—it merely asks for some meal to be "sent over" to him. Another letter, of date 6th April, 1747, speaks of his father having granted him "A Tack upon certain lands for which he promises to pay ten bolls meal, fourtie one pound, thirteen shillings and four pennies Scots money."

The date of this letter proves that he did not leave the country immediately after the Rising, but he certainly joined his brother James in Madeira some time later. On the death of the latter he succeeded to Letterfourie. He had married, in 1778, Helen, daughter of Alexander Russell of Montcoffer, by whom he had 3 sons—James, who succeeded him, Alexander and Charles Edward. He died 16th January, 1797, aged 82. His

portrait is at Letterfourie, and is reproduced facing page 144.

James Gordon, senior, of Letterfourie, father of the above, was on the Government side in the Rising, but was obliged to pay cess and levie money to the Jacobites. A receipt for these still exists.

"Fochabers, 20 March, 1746.

Received by me, Collector of the Cess and Levie money of Banffshire ffrom James Gordon of Letterfourie the sum of £17: 9: 6 Scots as three terms Cess of the Lands of Letterfourie and Curriedown due per Banff book for Sept. and Dec. 1745 and this current month of March 1746. As also to have received from the said James Gordon, the sum of £108 Levie money affecting the foresaid lands at the rate of £5 sterling on each hundred pounds scots, of both which Cess and Levie money the said James Gordon is here discharged.

FRAN. GORDON."

James Gordon did not die till 1748.

Gordon, Arthur, of Carnousie.

Son of George Gordon of Carnousie (George being the second son of Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, second son of Sir John Gordon of Park). He entered Marischal College in 1712, and was probably born about 1698. He married twice. (1) Mary, 3rd daughter of Alexander Duff of Drummuir, and widow of William Gordon of Lesmoir, and had one son, Alexander. (2) Isobel Campbell, widow of Robert Duff, his first wife's brother. By her his children were (1) George, (2) Arthur, (3) Katherine, married William Duff of Crombie, (4) Jean, married Alexander Donaldson of Kinnairdy, (5) Anne, married Harry Tytler of Miltown of Corsindae.

Arthur Gordon joined the Jacobites under Lord Pitsligo and, with him and several other Banffshire lairds, presented himself at Edinburgh in October, 1745. His going out was noted as "a great surprise," and a contemporary account says that "Carnusy was esteemed a wise, solid man, and one not wedded to Kingscraft.

But as many debts of his never heard of formerly are appearing, this unravels the mystery." Arthur Gordon was appointed Major in Lord Pitsligo's regiment, and went with the Highland army into England. After the retreat from Derby, seeing, doubtless, that the Jacobite cause was already lost, he seems to have made an unworthy effort to save himself. There is in the Record Office an autograph letter from the Duke of Cumberland, dated from Penrith, 30th December, 1745:—

"*Private.* My Lord Duke of Newcastle.

I have offers from two persons of note in the Rebel Army to come off if they can be secured of his Majesty's Pardon. They are Arthur Gordon of Karnousy, Colonel of Pitsligo's horse, and Francis Gordon who acts as Quarter-Master-General. They made their application before the action[1] and are known to Colonel Abercromby of the Royals. I have given them no hopes, but thought it best to acquaint his Majesty with it

WILLIAM."

These two Gordons did not form part of the ill-fated garrison of Carlisle, and, receiving no answer to their treacherous offer, continued with the Prince throughout the campaign.

After the defeat of Culloden and the dispersal of the army, Arthur Gordon wandered about the country till he escaped to France. He was never taken, but his servant, James Davidson, was ready to give evidence against him.

In Lord Rosebery's List it is stated that the yearly rental of his estate was £9,000, but it seems hardly possible that it could have amounted to so much. The Supplementary List gives the rental as £500, which was probably nearer the truth. Lord Braco wrote to Ludovick Grant of Grant on 25th March, 1746:— "You'l doe me a great favour if you'l apply to the General for a protection for Carnousie's House, who was verie friendly to me before he enter'd into this unhappie rebellion." The charming old house of Carnousie still stands and is occupied as a farm. Arthur Gordon was

[1]The attack on Carlisle with the heavy guns from Whitehaven.

one of those excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, and at Edinburgh on 11th October, 1748, the Grand Jury found a True Bill against him in the Court of Justiciary, and his attainder was confirmed. General Bland writes at this period:—"It appears that the Grand Jury will do their duty and not one of the excepted persons will escape, against whom there are [*sic*] sufficient evidence." But Arthur Gordon had already escaped! He died abroad, probably in 1753. Having got deeply into debt his estate was sequestrated and sold to Lord Findlater in that year; it afterwards became the property of George Hay of Mountblairy, and later of General Patrick ("Tiger") Duff.

In one of the lists preserved in the French Foreign Office of those needy Jacobites to whom King Louis, at the Prince's request, granted a "gratification," Arthur Gordon of "Carnouchy" appears as having received 1,500 francs in January 1747.

Gordon, Alexander, of Binhall, elder brother of the better known Charles.

Eldest son of Patrick Gordon of Binhall, Cairnie, and his wife, a daughter of the Rev. Wm. Hay, minister of Rothiemay.

Alexander was elected schoolmaster of Cairnie in 1742.

On 30th April 1746 the minister of Cairnie reported that Alexander Gordon, who had been admitted schoolmaster in Cairnie, had left that place and had joined the Rebellion, and craved that the school might be declared vacant.

Nothing further is known of him.

Gordon, Charles, of Binhall.

Third son of Patrick of Binhall, Cairnie, Baillie of Regality to the Duke of Gordon for that district, is described in Lord Rosebery's List as Paymaster in Glenbucket's Regiment, but at his own trial and wherever mentioned in the State Papers he is said to have been a lieutenant in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment. Mr. Sharpe,

Solicitor to the Treasury, describes him (when in prison) as "one of those who do not properly fall under the description of gentlemen, but are above the rank of common men." It is further said that he "is a youth about 20 and was, when he entered into the Rebellion, clerk to a writer in Edinburgh and has no estate."

At his trial it was proved by eye-witnesses that "he had gone to a fair to sell his father's cattle and was there seized by Glenbucket's son and told he was to serve the King. He said he knew no king but King George, but was carried off nevertheless." His father had been on the Government side in the Rebellion of 1715, and had, earlier in the year 1745, been imprisoned by the Glenbucket faction for opposing their recruiting methods; when told by John Slorach, his servant, that the young Charles was in Glenbucket's clutches, Patrick Gordon cried out, "Perdition take the old villian."

Charles was with the Prince's army in England and in the garrison of Carlisle, where he acted as a lieutenant, which was proved by witnesses, who "saw him walking about the ramparts of the City, seeing that the Sentinels did their duty. He also gave in his name to Captain Eyre as a Lieutenant, when taken."

With the rest of the garrison he surrendered on 30th December, 1745, and on 2nd February, 1746, was marched to London and imprisoned in Newgate, the keeper of which, Richard Akerman, swore that he had received 24 prisoners on 10th February. Gordon asked for witnesses from Cairnie for his trial (*Baga de Secretis*) and two seem to have duly arrived, also Ann Graham of Carlisle, who testified to his civil behaviour while quartered at "The Grapes" in that city. The initial "force" was fully proved, but not the continuance of it; he was convicted of High Treason and condemned to be hanged on 28th November, 1746. The jury, however, had strongly recommended him to mercy on account of his youth (he was apparently really only 17), and he was reprieved but remained in prison.

Petitions had been sent in, in his favour, from all the clergy in the shires of Aberdeen and presented by Lord

Braco; another from "Some of the Loyal subjects of the counties of Aberdeen and Banff," signed by Lord Braco himself, John Innes of Edingight, John Gordon of Achanachie, Theodore Morison of Bognie, Arthur Gordon of Wardhouse and other prominent landowners.

Another states that he was "not allowed to return with the army to Scotland lest he should escape, but was forced to stay in Carlisle." It is elsewhere said that the "Scottish Gate" of that city was walled up to prevent defections before Cumberland's arrival, but, according to Maxwell of Kirkconnell, two officers managed to escape over the wall after the capitulation and reached Scotland, bringing the unwelcome news to the Prince.[1]

In spite of all the interest exerted on his behalf, Charles Gordon was allowed to languish in gaol with other prisoners in Newgate, and, in December 1747, was concerned in a mutiny which occurred there. In September, 1748, he and some others presented a petition representing that they had been in prison for two years and seven months since reprieved from death, and begged to be allowed to leave the gaol to take some air. A pardon on condition of transportation was shortly afterwards granted to all petitioners and on 17th November 1748 Charles Gordon's name was "struck off the list for transportation, by order of the Lords Justices," and he received a free pardon and returned to Scotland, where he lived peacefully until his death.

Gordon, John, Schoolmaster, Tarrycroys, Keith, is described by Rosebery as "the Young Dominie, assisted the rebels, had been a Sergeant in General Cope's army and deserted. Lurking."

He was the eldest son of Patrick Gordon of Binhall, and had, as has been seen, two younger brothers among the Jacobites, Alexander, another schoolmaster, and Charles, a writer's apprentice.

No further details are known about John, "the Dominie."

[1]Their names were Nicholson and Brown.

Gordon, Charles, of Blelack. "A captain, carried arms at Falkirk, Inverurie and Culloden, and forced men out on the Earl of Aboyne's estate. Lurking. Yearly rent of estate—£50. House burnt." (Rosebery.) The Duke of Cumberland's List gives the rental as *£150!*

He was the second son of Alexander of Blelack, who died in 1724, and Isobel Forbes, "a masculine character." In 1726 Charles succeeded his brother John, in the estate of Blelack. He married Anne Urquhart of Meldrum,[1] whose mother was a Campbell of Cawdor (a fact which became useful to him later in life).

Blelack was a close friend of Lord Lewis Gordon, Farquharson of Monaltrie and Moir of Stoneywood. To the last named he wrote from Tarland on 9th December, 1745:—"Everything goes on most delaitfully." He took part in the battles of Inverurie, Falkirk and Culloden, at which last he was wounded but was not taken prisoner. He and Jonathan Forbes of Brux hid together in various parts of Aberdeenshire, being at one time concealed in an unused garret in the manse of Towie, where they were fed by the minister's wife, Mrs. Lumsden. It is curious to note that though the parish ministers did their utmost to dissuade their flocks from taking part in the Rising, yet, after its collapse, no one was kinder to both prisoners and fugitives, and they sometimes urged their own services in having prevented men from going out as a reason for asking for the lives of those who had done so.[2]

Mrs. Lumsden of Towie seems to have been a woman of resource, and when her elderly maiden sister complained of the amount of food consumed in the house, blamed the two pigs in the sty that had to be fed. When

[1]Anne's sister, Mary, was married to William Menzies of Pitfodels. Gordon of Blelack had, therefore, 6 nephews in the Highland army with him.

[2]Notably in the case of Farquharson of Monaltrie and young Robert Forbes of Newe, who, between them, marshalled nearly all the clergy of Aberdeenshire as their defenders. In the case of the latter, the somewhat artful plea was advanced that the rebels should not be allowed "to rejoice over the execution of the child of a well-affected family."

the maids heard noises, which they were sure were not caused by "rottens" (i.e., rats), or saw shadows creeping past their window at night, when the fugitives ventured out for a breath of air, she encouraged the idea of ghosts that had better not be meddled with. Eventually, however, when the report got about that "all wisna right at the Manse of Towie," it was considered wiser for the hunted rebels to go elsewhere and Charles Gordon took refuge in the Mill of Gellan, Corse. While there, a plan to arrest him by a party of royal troops from Corgarf Castle was frustrated by his former servant, John McConnach, who was in charge of the local canteen, and, overhearing the arrangements, walked the twenty-four miles in the night to warn Gordon (he probably knew some short cuts!). Still later, Charles Gordon is said to have stayed in Dunnottar, in the house of his sister, Mrs. Rose. While the Rising was still in progress, the minister of Logie in Mar prayed on one occasion that "God would scatter the army of the rebels and bring their counsels to nought," when he was interrupted by the Dowager Lady of Blelack, who exclaimed with an oath, "How dare ye say that, an' my Charlie wi' them."

In the year following Culloden, while Blelack was still wandering and hunted, a relation wrote on his behalf to the Duke of Newcastle:—

"Grosvenor Square, June 8, 1747.

My lord,

The unfortunate person I took the liberty to mention to your Grace, when I had the honour to wait on you, is Charles Gordon of Blelack. The man is a relation of mine and his nearest friends have very earnestly entreated me to intercede for him. He has, as I am credibly informed, but a very small land estate, under £100 per annum, which is all held of the Lord Braco. I am assured that when the country was under the power of the rebels, he was very remarkable for shewing civilities to the King's friends and preserved many of them from being plundered, which has made many who are sincerely attached to the Government think of him with compassion and induces me most

humbly to recommend him as an object of his Majesty's mercy. I beg leave to recommend his case to your Grace's goodness, and have the honour to be with the greatest respect.

My Lord, yr grace's most obliged faithful and humble servant,

J. CAMPBELL,
Maj. General."[1]

The result of this petition may have been a slackening of the pursuit, in any case Blelack was never taken but eventually returned peacefully to his ruined home, and died there in 1785, aged 80.

A curious legend is told about him, viz., that the fairies used to reside in Seely Howe on his property, and in the year 1745 he determined to dislodge them, employing for the purpose a reputed magician named John Farquharson, tacksman in Parks. The fairies, however, refused to obey the spell until the laird should assign them another abode, which he did by sending them to the Hill of Fare, near Banchory. But disliking their new quarters, the "good people" are said to have cursed the laird of Blelack in the following terms:—

"Dool, dool to Blelack
And dool to Blelack's heir
For driving us frae Seely Howe
To the cauld hill o' Fare."

That the laird had no son to succeed him was supposed to be the effect of the curse.

Gordon, Charles, of Terpersie.

Both Charles Gordon and his son, James, were out in the '45, and in Lord Rosebery's List their identities are confused.

Charles, who was a man of over 60, was one of the first to be forced out by Glenbucket from his home in apprehended when fishing in the Bogie, and carried to the Jacobite headquarters, where he found his father, and thereafter made no attempt to escape from his hitherto Aberdeenshire.

Somewhat later, his son James, a boy of 16, was

[1]P.R.O.

unwilling service. He was appointed a lieutenant of artillery, with what qualifications is not known, and formed part of the garrison of Carlisle; he was, therefore, taken to London to be tried.

His father, who was made prisoner at his own home of Terpersie, was taken to Carlisle, where he was tried and executed on 15th November, 1746. He never seems to have been anything but a volunteer (so-called). Very full details of these two Gordons are to be gathered from letters and petitions in the State Papers and elsewhere.

"The humble petition of Charles Gordon, late of Terpersie in the county of Aberdeen, now prisoner in the Castle of Carlisle and convicted of High Treason, humbly sheweth That I, having for some time past been low in my circumstances and at the breaking out of the late wicked and unnatural rebellion, having my residence in the Country of Strathbogie, where the Gordon of Glenbucket very soon appeared in arms and by force and violence forced every person residing in that country to join in that horrid attempt, I was among the many other misfortunate people compelled to take arms and for some time to continue among them.

That I am exceedingly sensible of my folly and therefore resolved to put your Majesty's judges to no trouble in trying me, but on my araingment to throw myself upon your Majesty's mercy and plead guilty.

That the fear of having my houses and corns destroyed was the only motive that led me into this wicked and inconsiderate action. I am a poor old man twixt 60 and 70 years of age, having a wife and children, who can only be supported by the small profits of a lease depending upon my life, and these considerations I presume to lay before your most excellent majesty for compassion.

May it therefore please your Majesty to show mercy to an unhappy old man, worn out with age and misfortunes, upon whose life the support of a wife and helpless children does depend, and as I am sensible of my transgression, so the remainder of my days shall be spent in prayers to the Almighty God for the happiness and prosperity of your Majesty and your Royal family.

CHARLES GORDON."

His wife was Margaret, daughter of Adam Gordon, at the Mill of Artloch, and, according to the Forfeited Estate Papers, she was entitled by Contract of Marriage to a Jointure of £35 for life, but she probably did not receive this on account of his "felon's death." She survived until March, 1777. They had been married just twenty years, and there were 9 children (of whom Lieutenant James was the second, Henry, in the Marines, being the eldest). The petition was unavailing. Charles Gordon was condemned to death, and wrote the following letter to his wife:—

"Carlisle, Nov. 14, 1746.

"Dear Heart,

I now tell you that I suffer death to-morrow for my duty to God, my king, and country. I bless God I die in charity with all men. I think my butchered body will be taken care of and buried as a Christian, by order of Francis Farquharson, who has acted a father to me, and laid out a good deal of money to and for me, whereof you may expect a particular account, which I leave you on my blessing to repay him. I die with the greatest regret that I've been a bad husband to you, and I beg you'll pardon me in your heart, and that you'll express your goodness (as you'll answer to God and me in the everlasting world) by your care of and motherly looking to your children's salvation and right putting them to business in this world. I know not how many are alive: only set the boys to some right employment while young, and strive to admonish the daughters in the fear of God. I herewith send you a note of what I would have done with the trifles I have a concern in, for you know the lump of my business.

My dearest:—If I should write till my life ends I would still have something to say. But to stop that, I end with my dying blessing to you, my young ones, and your poor mother, if alive. Your last from your unfortunate husband,

Cha. Gordon."

There was also a letter, covering the above, to Lady Terpersie, from the Rev. Patrick Gordon:—

"Rhynie, Jan. 26, 1747.

Madam,

The inclosed came to me two or three days ago, and I intended to have delivered it to you with my own hand. But as I cannot travel so far for some days by reason of necessary business in my parish, I thought proper, rather than delay it any longer, to transmit it in this manner. *My correspondent* is a gentlewoman that lives in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, who saw Terpersie every day for some time before his death, and says he died as became a truly penitent Christian, to the conviction of all the clergy and others that conversed with him. She writes me that one Wright, by orders from Mr. Farquharson, provided a coffin for his body, that she gave such grave cloaths as are usual, and saw him buried at St. Cuthbert's Churchyard. So that you and all your relations are much obliged to this gentlewoman. . . She has his stock-buckle, buttons and a book he left to his son Charles, which she is ready to send to Edinburgh to any person you shall name there, which you may do by me when you please, for I intend to write her soon. I am Madam

Your most humble servant,

PAT. GORDON."[1]

Family tradition has always had it that the arrest of Charles Gordon took place under specially distressing circumstances. There was a Government spy named Hardy, "A low mean fellow" (according to Bishop Forbes, in the "Lyon in Mourning"), "of whose doings I have been informed by many. He lived in Kintore and was very active in being guide, after Culloden, to the red coats to discover the hiding places of the distressed gentlemen, and to shew them the houses of reputed Jacobites for pillaging. He it was who guided the party that seized Mr. Gordon of Terpersie." Having apprehended the unfortunate man as a fugitive, the soldiers were quite ignorant as to his identity, and asked the minister of Tullynessle who it was, but he said he did

[1] P.R.O.

not know. Still leading their captive, they proceeded to Gordon's own house, where some of the young children, running out, greeted him with joyful cries of "Daddy, daddy," which unluckily, by establishing his identity, sealed his fate.

He himself had been at one time "tenant of the Mill of Gartly," and other petitions were sent in for him under that description.

As Charles Gordon's was one of the earliest executions of Jacobites, the *Scots Magazine* of the period gives a very full account of the gruesome details:—

"The prisoners were drawn to the place of execution, Tyburn, without the Micklegate Bar, Carlisle, in three sledges. When they came there, they walked to the gallows without the least fear. When they had hung about ten minutes, the executioner cut them down, laid their bodies on a stage, stripped them naked, embowelled them, and threw their bowels into the fire one by one. The executioner held up each heart before throwing it into the fire and cried 'Gentlemen, behold the heart of a traitor,' at the last he cried, 'Gentlemen, behold the heart of the last traitor! God save King George' upon which the spectators gave a loud huzza. Then the executioner scored the arms and legs of each (but did not cut them off), crying 'Good people, behold the four quarters of a traitor!' and next chipped off their heads.

Hearses were ready to receive the bodies of Captain George Hamilton, Edward Clavering and Gordon, and there were coffins for the others."

Mr. James Wright, writer in Edinburgh, in a letter to the sister of Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace (who was executed on the same day), dated at Carlisle, he says:—

"Madam, Your brother who is no more, delivered me this letter immediately before he suffered. I waited on him to the last and with some other friends witnessed his interment at St. Cuthbert's Churchyard. He lies on the North side of the Church, within 4 yards of the 2nd window from the steeple. Mr. Gordon of Terpersie and Patrick Murray, Goldsmith, lie just by him."

Gordon, James, younger, of Terpersie.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is confused with his father. He was another of the victims of Gordon of Glenbucket's violent methods of recruiting for the Jacobites. In this case it seems to have been Glenbucket's son, David Gordon of Kirkhill, who captured young Terpersie while out fishing, and carried him off to join the army.

Though only a boy of 15 or 16, he must have shown promise as a soldier, for he was given a commission in the artillery company commanded by John Burnet, and in this took part in the defence of Carlisle, where he was taken prisoner with the rest of the garrison on 30th December 1745, and carried to London. He was tried at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, on 24th October 1746, and on account of his youth and the undoubted force used to impress him, would have been "recommended to mercy" by the jury if they had not already on the same day recommended Charles Gordon of Binhall! James was, therefore, convicted of high treason and condemned to death with the other officers of the Carlisle garrison on 15th November, for execution on 28th November. Before that date he was reprieved for six weeks, and again on 8th January 1746, and shortly afterwards he presented the following petition:—

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The petition of James Gordon, humbly sheweth.

That your Petitioner in September 1745, being then at school, and about the age of 15, was seized and forcibly carried into the rebellion by a party of Highlanders under the command of David Gordon, son of Gordon of Glenbucket, as was fully proved upon your petitioner's Tryal. That your petitioner, being afterwards carried to Edinburgh, he there found his father, Charles Gordon, unfortunately engaged in the service of the rebells. That your petitioner engaged with the rebels rather for the sake of taking care of his father, who was aged and infirm, than from principle or inclination. That your petitioner's said father was convicted of High Treason at Carlisle, and has in consequence of such

conviction, suffered death. That your petitioner's age and his unwillingness to engage in the rebellion was so clearly proved upon your petitioner's tryal that the jury was pleased in open Court to declare that they would have entreated my Lords the judges to have represented your Petitioner to your Majesty as an object of mercy, if they had not imagined it was improper for them to trouble the Court *too often* with recommendations of that nature. That in further testimony of your petitioner's unwillingness to engage in the service of the rebels your petitioner most humbly begs leave to refer to the annexed certificate of Mr. Walter Syme, Minister of the Gospel at Tullynessle, a person of undoubted loyalty to your Majesty, who has known your petitioner from his infancy. That your petitioner's only hope is in your Majesty's unbounded clemency, and altho' your petitioner's age or his father's punishment is not any excuse or attonement for his crime, yet he most humbly implores your Majesty to take the above circumstances under your royal consideration, and to spare his life, the remainder of which he promises faithfully to devote to the service of your Majesty and your illustrious house."[1]

In December, 1747, he was still in Southwark Gaol, as he was concerned with Charles Gordon of Binhall and some others in a riot in which they assaulted the turnkeys, and it was not until the spring of 1748 that he was at length granted a "pardon upon condition of leaving the country." The pardon occurs twice in the entry books, once under 5th April and again under 10th May.

In the month of June he presented the following most pathetic petition to the Duke of Bedford:—

"To His Grace the Duke of Bedford, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.

The humble petition of James Gordon, a prisoner in the New Gaol, Southwark, where he has lain in confinement two years and an half. Most humbly sheweth—

That his Majesty was most graciously pleased sometime since to Grant your Petr. a free pardon for the High

[1]P.R.O.

Treason of which he was convicted at St. Margaret's Hill; for which instance of the Royal Mercy the Petr. to the latest moment of his life will shew the most grateful sense by the Strictest Duty and Loyalty to his Majesty's person and Government.

That the small estate which would have devolved on your Petr. by his Father's Death, had it not been for his being unhappily involved in the late unnatural Rebellion and which is not quite fifty pounds a year, was taken possession of by Francis Grant and David Bruce[1] from your Petr.'s Mother two years ago, and a Factor put upon it accountable to the Barons of his Majesty's Exchequer, by which means yr Petr, his Mother and seven small children are deprived of all subsistence from anything which did belong to their Family, and have been subsisting for some time past by the Charity of Relations. That your Petr. cannot have the effect of his Majesty's free pardon for want of money to pay the fees of passing it, and is for this reason still closely confined in Gaol, though his pardon is now and has been for some time lying at the Privy seal office, and tho' others included in the same pardon have been sometime since discharged out of prison and put into Messenger's hands, and discharged from thence by Warrants from the Secretary of State and are now, as yr Petr. is informed, at full liberty.

That your Petr. so soon as ever he is discharged, intends to go to Jamaica, where he is determined by all his actions and by the most dutiful and loyal behaviour to shew the true grateful sence he has of the Royal Mercy he has received, but in regard he is destitute of all means of paying the Fees of passing his pardon, and providing for and paying his passage for Jamaica, and as he is still confined a prisoner though pardoned by his Majesty, your petitioner therefore most humbly prays your Grace that you will be pleased to grant your warrant to a Messenger to take him out of the New Gaol, and that yr Grace will likewise be pleased to order a small sum of money, to enable him to get his pardon

[1]Commissioners appointed to inspect the "Late forfeited Estates."

passed, and to pay his passage to Jamaica, where he will spend the rest of his life in the greatest loyalty to his Majesty King George and his Royal family.

And your petitioner as in strictest Duty bound shall ever pray etc.

JAMES GORDON."[1]

As the result of this petition, James Gordon seems to have been removed to the house of Mr. Carrington, the messenger, from which he was finally discharged, without further fees, on the 1st August, 1748, nearly three years since the unlucky day on which he went fishing in the Bogie! He emigrated, as he intended, to Jamaica, where Lord Adam Gordon relates having come across him on 18th July, 1764, he being then a "Mahogany cutter." It is curious to reflect that 19 years after the siege of Carlisle, James Gordon was still a comparatively young man of 31 or 32.

Gordon, David, second son of Old Glenbucket.

He lived at Little Delavorar, and he married, in 1733, Isobel, daughter of Patrick Gordon of Kirkhill, on which estate he afterwards resided, and farmed it for his brother-in-law, John Gordon. In Lord Rosebery's List he is described as "David Gordon of Kirkhill, a Lieutenant in the Rebel Army, dead."

He was extremely active in assisting his father to force out unwilling recruits and several very young prisoners accused him, at their trials, of being the cause of their misfortunes, notably James Gordon of Terpersie, Charles Gordon of Binhall and others.

He died, or was killed, in March, 1746, a month before Culloden, leaving 4 daughters, his only son having died as an infant.

The Government was apparently unaware of his death, as his name occurs in a list drawn up in November, 1746, of "Persons against whom there is

[1]This petition is wrongly placed in the State Papers in Bundle 54.79, under date 1745. It should be 1748, at which period the Duke of Bedford had succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as Secretary of State, and James Gordon had been, as he says, 2½ years in prison.

proof of their being in the late rebellion, but are not yet in Custody." The value of his estate was there given as £50 annually, but it was not, of course, his own property, nor his wife's, until the death of her brother in 1764.

Gordon, George, of Glenbucket, the 3rd son of the famous Major-General John Gordon, "old Glenbucket."

He fought at Culloden, survived, and was a prisoner in Inverness, but escaped. He afterwards became a doctor in Jamaica, where he died.

Gordon, Duncan, aged 32, from Aberdeenshire, an ensign in Farquharson's regiment.

His name does not occur in Lord Rosebery's List, and all that is known about him is gathered from the laconic reports in the Record Office, where he figures in several lists of prisoners in Southwark Gaol. In one he is briefly described as "not well." In another he is said to have been "concerned in the pillaging of Lord Findlater's house at Cullen," but in a list of "prisoners under sentence of death, reprieved," against his name is written, "No evidence against him, bill not found, discharged. 7th March 1747." He seems to have been exceptionally lucky. It is not known to what family he belonged.

Gordon, Francis, of Kincardine Mill.

"Writer, acted as General quarter-master to the Rebels, now in the Highlands. Lurking." (Rosebery.)

He was the son of George Gordon, heritor of Mill of Kincardine, Kincardine O'Neil, and of Agnes Gordon.

In 1731 he was apprenticed to Richard Gordon, Procurator-Fiscal of Aberdeenshire and became an advocate. On 15th October 1744 he was served heir to his grandfather, John Gordon, in the mill and lands of Kincardine, now known as Dess,[1] and the old dwelling

[1]His rental was given as £50.

house on the estate (or what was left of it after the burning) is at present represented by the gardener's cottage on the estate of the late Major Davidson of Dess. He went "out" with Lord Lewis Gordon in 1745, and was appointed Quartermaster to the army, which he accompanied into England, and during the retreat from Derby, he, with Arthur Gordon of Carnousie, made the disgraceful offer to Cumberland to "come off if they can be secured of his Majesty's pardon."[1] The offer was not accepted, and Francis Gordon continued with the Highland army, and signed, as has been seen, a great many of the orders demanding cess and levy money. He was concerned in the pillaging of Lord Findlater's house of Cullen in the spring of 1746, having been entrusted by Lord John Drummond, who was his superior officer, with delivering the preliminary demand for levy money on 28th March 1746. In writing to the Rev. Mr. Lawtie he says, "If this is not done without further delay, I can easily forsee and I am really in earnest, that greater hardships must ensue." The rest of this correspondence will be found in the article on the pillaging of Cullen House.[2]

The sacking of the house took place in the early morning of the 8th of April, and damage estimated at £8,000 was done.

Francis Gordon was present at the Battle of Culloden, and afterwards escaped, lurking in the neighbourhood of his own house for some months. At one time he was concealed in a hiding place in the house of Corsindae, of which the owner, William Duff, was a prominent Whig and J.P.[3]

Before the end of the year Francis managed to leave Scotland, and seems to have made and signed his will in London, 19th October 1746. He then escaped to France and entered the French service, in which he was shortly afterwards killed in action.

[1] See page 205.

[2] See page 78.

[3] Family traditions at Corsindae.

He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity, June 1747, and "a true bill of High Treason was found against him in absence" by the jury at Edinburgh in October 1748, but before the latter date he was dead, as his will was confirmed in Aberdeen on 3rd September 1748.

His whole personal estate (which consisted largely of monies owed to him by other Jacobites) was left to his friends, William Duff of Corsindae and Alex. Chalmers of Balnacraig, in trust for his infant children, Hugh, Helen and Ann; his wife, Barbara Rose, having predeceased him.

Gordon George, of Birkenbush.

He is not mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List, but is known to have played an active part on the Prince's side in Banffshire.

A letter from him is now at Cairnfield:—

"Birkenbush, 2 November 1745.

By command from Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Lieut. of the Counties of Banff and Aberdeen, I am ordered to acquaint to call together all your tenants, Servts. Cottars, apprentices you have any manner of way in your interest, to cause them repair along with yourself to the Moor of Broadley, Monday first being the fourth current, o'clock of Forenoon [*sic*] under the pain of the highest military discipline in order to be draughted for His Majesty's service. This is the Lord Lieutenant's peremptory orders to me from

Sir, Your most humble servant,

Geo. Gordon."

Alexander Grant of Tochieneal, Lord Findlater's steward, wrote to his Lordship:—

"11 December, 1745.

Birkenbush was here last night and told me that it is not in his power to get your Lordship's Estate saved in such a way as he would have desired, utterly refused having any concern in uplifting the Levies from that bounds, for which I have been very angry at him: but it cannot now help."

George Gordon died in 1752. His wife was Katherine, daughter of Charles Gordon of Glengerack.

Gordon, James, younger brother of Birkenbush.

He is mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List, where he is described as "Gentleman, Birkenbush, Banff. A Lieutenant and was very active—wounded at Inverurie skirmish."

It seems that he recovered, as he married Elizabeth Gordon and had issue.

Gordon, George, of Buckie.

Although George Gordon's name does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List, nor in any of the accounts of doings in Banffshire, there are two references in contemporary documents to Gordon of Buckie having been involved in the Jacobite affairs of the period.

W. B. Blaikie in his "Itinerary of Prince Charles" says that "Gordon of Buckie and Gordon of Glasterim with tenants, joined the Prince at Holyrood on October 12th, 1745." Also in the French Foreign Office there are several letters from an anonymous correspondent in Edinburgh, in one of which, dated 20th October 1745, it is stated that Gordon of Buckie, Hay of Rannes and most of the gentlemen of Banffshire, mounted on horses, had the honour of being constantly with the Prince.[1]

The possessor of Buckie at the time of the '45 was George Gordon, seventh laird. In 1730 he was served heir to his father, George Gordon (who had been "out" in the '15). He married, on 21st October 1746, Anna Gordon of Cairnfield, and had a son, Captain John, who was the last laird of Buckie. George Gordon died in March 1756, having previously bought the small estate of Arradoul, close to Cairnfield. The house of Buckie, very near the town, still exists in a ruinous condition.

[1] "Le 20 Oct., 1745, milord Pitsligo apporta 400 infanterie et 240 Cavalerie.

Les Sieurs Gordon de Buckie et Hay Ranas, et généralement tous les gentils hommes de la province de Banff montent à cheval et auront incessament l'honneur de joindre le Prince."

Gordon, Charles, of Buckie.

He was younger brother of George Gordon, the laird of Buckie, and is known to have been engaged in the Rising, as his servant, William Innes, a private in Lord Lewis Gordon's Regiment, was made prisoner at Inverness, taken to Tilbury, and eventually transported. (Innes described himself as "servant and Fiddler to Charles Gordon of Buckie.")

This younger brother of Buckie is probably the same man who appears in Rosebery's List as "Charles Gordon, surgeon-apprentice, Aberdeen. Captain, assisted in robbing Lord Sinclair of his horses near Portsoy on 7th May 1746. Whereabouts unknown."

In an almost illegible list given in by John Hendry, the informer "belonging to Mr. Ward, the messenger," Gordon's name occurs. The whole list is so curious it is worth giving in full. It is headed, "This ye desired me to give you, a list of all the Gentlemen, because ye could not stay that day I came to the Office.

Mr. hey of raness.
Captain gordon of Bukey.
The Mr. of Strathallan.
Glenbucket.
Deuk of pearth,

and Mr. Douglas which I am informed is he they call Lord Mordington, and I wish I could see him before his tryale and no whether it be the man I no or not."

Hendry then asks for his "whitnes fies." (P.R.O.)

Nothing more is known of Charles Gordon.

Gordon, George, of Hallhead,

Was the eldest son of Robert Gordon of Hallhead and Esslemont and his wife, Isabel Byres. Robert Gordon was a merchant in Bordeaux, and had been very friendly with the Jacobite refugees of the '15, settled there.

George Gordon married, in January 1729, Amy Bowdler, an Englishwoman, daughter of Thomas Bowdler (grandfather of the expurgator of Shakespeare) and had one child, Robert, born 1732, who succeeded his father and died in 1793.

In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels, George Gordon is described as having "carried arms the whole Rebellion and was Secretary to Lord Pitsligo." The yearly rent of his estate is given as £400, and the condition of his house as "indifferent."

In February 1746, Gordon's house in the Guestrow, Aberdeen, was occupied by General Hawley. Mrs. Gordon was at that date living in the house, and she seems to have been very badly treated by the Hanoverian troops. The best account of what she suffered at the hands of Cumberland, Hawley and Wolfe (the hero of Quebec) is that prepared by Thomas Bowdler, her brother[1]—which is here summarized. He says that he "wrote it down from her mouth, and intended to get her to sign it, when I should have put it into a more perfect form. This however, I delayed too long, for it pleased God to take her before I had done anything to it." Mrs. Gordon says, "The day before the Duke of Cumberland arrived here (Aberdeen), which was the 23rd of February, Colonel Watson, one of General Hawley's aid-de-camps came to me and said that the College which was designed for the Duke was not found convenient and that my house was what they must have. . They told me however that as I had lent my house for their conveniency they would not let me be a sufferer in any respect; that as to my china and linen I must lock it up . . . and make myself quite easie, for they would not stay above 2 or 3 days here. I sent my child into the country and provided myself with a lodging . . . and set all things by, as I was desired. . . . The very next morning after they came, before I was out of my bed, General Hawley sent two messengers to command me to send him every key I had, and so I did, thinking that when he had satisfied his curiosity he would send them to me again. But about 6 o'clock in the afternoon he sent one of his aid-de-camps to me (whose name is Wolfe)

[1]Thomas Bowdler himself was at one time in custody. A note in the State Papers says:—"In Mr. Bowdler's Lodging chamber in Mr. Cotton's house is ye picture of ye Pretender and that of King James and Queen Maria. From several scraps of letters found in Mr. Bowdler's chamber there is all the reason in the world to think he corresponds with the rebells, and is apprehended."

who after telling me rudely enough that he had a great deal of trouble to find me out, said that he was come to let me know that I was deprived of everything but the cloths on my back." The poor woman then sent a petition to the Duke, who, *it was said*, seemed quite amazed at what was done, and said he would "see she was not robbed."

Mrs. Gordon continues:—"I thought I might depend on this message. But General Hawley, who lived in my house, took care to prevent that, for he packed up every bit of china I had, which I am sure would not be bought for two hundred pounds, all my beding and table linen, every book, my repeating-clock (which stood by the bed in which he lay every night), my worked screen, every ragg of Mr. Gordon's clothes, the very hat, breeches, night gown, shoes and what shirts there was of the child's, 12 teaspoons, strainer and tongs, the japaned board on which the chocolate and coffee cups stood, and put them on board a ship in the night time, directed to himself at Holyrood House at Edinburgh. The flutes, music and my cane, he made presents of. I had 5 lb. and a half of tea, 7 loaves of fine sugar, half a hundred of lump, 7 lb. of chocolate, a great stock of salt beef, pickled pork, hams, peas, butter, coals, peats, ale, verme jelly, rice and spice, some cheese, brandy, rum, sago, harts-horn, salop, sweetmeats, Narbonne honey, two dozen washballs, with many things which 'tis impossible to mention, all which he kept for himself, nor would he give me any share of them; even my empty bottles he took.

The morning he went away, which was on Tuesday the 8th April" (they had therefore been 6 weeks in the house), "he took the blankets and pillows of the beds, even the larding pins, iron screws, the fish kettle and marble mortar. . . . In short he left nothing but the beds without coverings. The chairs and tables, my writing tables, the corner-cupboard, and Mr. Gordon's desk he has broke as much as can be, and tho' he had the keys, he has broken off the locks, and taken the part of it that was at the bottom to pack part of the China in. In short a house so plundered, I believe was never heard of. It is not six hundred pounds that would make up my loss,

nor have I at this time a single table cloth, napkin nor towel, tea-cup, glass or any one conveniency."

Mrs. Gordon further says that "Alexander Scott, the carpenter who packed up the things for General Hawley, told me that the best tea equipage was packed up in part of the mahogany bureau, and was directed to the Duke of Cumberland at St. James's and that the set of coloured china was directed in the same manner. The rest of the things were directed to General Hawley, by whose direction these two boxes were directed to the Duke."

An additionally aggravating detail of the spoiling is thus noted by Mr. Bowdler.

"Mrs. Jackson, a lady who had been long acquainted with Mrs. Gordon, and who knew the china, having seen it at Mr. Gordon's house in London, going one day along the streets, saw some of the china in the window of a china shop and had the curiosity to go in and ask the man of whom he bought it, and he said he had it from a woman of the town, who told him it was given her by the Duke of Cumberland!"

Mrs. Gordon adds, under date 11th April 1746:—

"Mr. Gordon does not know what I have suffered, nor do I know where he is. . . . I expect Bob from the country this night." (Her son, then 13 years old.) She says she hopes soon to send him to England, "as his being here frights me terribly—for in some events, I have too much reason to think he would not be safe."

George Gordon was in hiding for some time after Culloden, but was certainly in Paris on 7th November 1746, as he then shared in the distribution of the bounty of the French Government to Prince Charles' needy followers, to the extent of 1,500 francs. This is expressly mentioned as taking the form of a "gratification" and not that of a pension. It was stated that he had lost much in the Prince's service ("a beaucoup perdu").[1] In 1747 he was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity, and in October 1748, a true bill of

[1]He is variously described as Gordon of "Ockhead" and Gordon of "Waheed."

High Treason was found against him (in his absence) at Edinburgh. According to Temple's "Thanage of Fermartyn," George Gordon's estates seem to have been granted by the Duke of Cumberland (by a factory dated 1746) to James Chalmers, printer, Aberdeen, probably a friend of the family, as the lands in due course appear in possession of George Gordon's son, Robert.

George Gordon was at Boulogne between 1749 and 1750, and in 1756 was living at Bordeaux. The date of his death is not known.

Gordon, George, Priest.

"Born in Fochabers, of the Diocese of Moray: studied at Scalan: received Mission orders from Bishop Gordon: was by him ordained Priest, in September 1725: stayed at Scalan and had the care of that house. In 1738 and part of '39, he was Missionary in Glenlivet after Mr. Alex. Grant, of Achlichny, had given up his charge there. In 1739, he went to Aberdeen, where he continued until the beginning of 1746, when he left it on the Duke of Cumberland's arrival, having taken an active part on the Jacobite side. After the battle of Culloden, he lurked for some months in Fochabers, and after that he made his abode chiefly in the house of one Alexr. Gordon, in Corstanes in Currydown. In September 1746, he returned to Aberdeen and continued there, until this time, in 1761."—(Bishop Geddes MS.)

Gordon, Henrietta, Dowager Duchess of.

Though it will come as a surprise to many to find the Duchess of Gordon among the Banffshire Jacobites of the Forty-Five, yet her husband, Alexander, 2nd Duke, had been among the most prominent supporters of the '15. Her own autograph letters, still among the State Papers, leave no doubt as to her personal leaning and as to her influence on her son Lewis.

She was born a Mordaunt, daughter of the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, and married the second Duke of Gordon, who died in 1728. After this date she agreed to

bring up her large family, 4 sons and 7 daughters, in the Protestant faith, and from 1735 to 1745 received a Government pension of £1,000 a year on this understanding.

The first and most important letter was taken from the baggage of the Duke of Perth, her husband's nephew, at the skirmish of Clifton, and has apparently never been printed:—

"Preston Hall, nr. Edinburgh,
October 17, 1745.

My Lord Duke,

All yr friends and I am sure yrself will doe me the justice to acknowledge I publickly declared before them all, that if my son Lewis had any intention to go into the Prince's service, none would be more unwilling to dissuade him than myself. But by his discourses, for what reason he knows best, he's always express'd the greatest unwillingness to engage; and your Grace well knows in these affairs, ye greatest part of mankind judge by the success of things (which indeed is very wrong). But must at ye same time make a Parent very cautious how to advise. And another thing I took highly amiss was that when I heard the Duchess of Perth[1] was come to my house, I thought it proper that all her relations should at least pay her the respect and civilities due to her, which when I proposed waiting on her Grace Sunday was eight days, he promised to doe—But being on ye Saturday before at Mr. Hamilton's of Pancatly's house, upon a rediculous letter from sum person at Edinburgh, he changed his mind, which I thought not well off. And indeed I did not aprove of the person Imploy'd to bring him the Prince's letter, when he had so near and so valuable a relation as yr Grace, who I daresay would have readily undertaken ye trouble, as Sr William[2] is a Light-headed proud Insignificant Gordon, allways apear'd in opposition to the Family and their interest in every respect, and is a poor tooll of ye Lord's of Braco's who the Gordons, I mean the Honnest

[1]Lady Jean Gordon, her sister-in-law.

[2]Sir William Gordon of Park.

Gordons, should ever abhor. I believe I may truly say Ld. Lewis never had any friend, has done so much for him as I have dune, I shall be glad he meet with no worse. However I shall keep my mind to myself, and heartily wish you *all* and yr Grace in particular all possible Success, and ever am with great truth and esteem,

Your grace's most affectionate faithfull humble serv.

H. Gordon." (P.R.O.)

The Duchess appears to have taken no active part in raising recruits or otherwise assisting the Rising, beyond the fact that—

"William Cormack, a chairman in Edinburgh gave evidence that he was one of the chairmen at the Pretender's lodgings at Edinburgh, when the Duchess of Gordon came at 11 o'clock at night, with her Coach and six and that the footmen told him of a heavy box he took upstairs" (P.R.O.)—which seems to point to a possible assistance in money.

After Culloden the Duchess wrote from Preston Hall, a humble appeal to the Duke of Newcastle, begging that her "pension of £1,000 a year granted to her by the late Queen during her regency, which was paid for a number of years and is now stopped, be continued." She says how much she and her eldest son have suffered because the tenants can pay no rent, and adds:—

"I make no doubt the many false and malicious stories industriously told and the unfortunate and undutiful step my third son Lord Lewis took, has occasioned his Majesty's taking such a resolution. That parents and innocent persons should suffer for their children's faults has not in all times been a rule (and I hope his Majesty's goodness will not make it one in this)."

She claims that the dutiful behaviour of her eldest son, of her second son, Lord Charles, who was in Lord Loudoun's regiment, and has "been throw the whole highlands," and of her youngest son, Lord Adam, who was at the battle of Fontenoy, should "make some small atonement for the breach of duty of one unhappy youth

not of age (Lewis), who had served his Majesty 8 years at sea abroad without touching a farthing of his Majesty's money, and on his coming to Britain had the mortification to find a younger Lieutenant than himself preferred to a ship." She has already written to Newcastle, and fears her letters "have not been in such forme as they should, but I hope your Grace might have the goodness to have excused a Lady not accustomed to correspond with a Sec. of State."

There was no answer, nor was the pension renewed. The Duchess died in 1760.

Gordon, James, younger, of Aberlour.

Was the son of Patrick Gordon of Aberlour, who was "out" in 1715, and married Clementina Gordon, daughter of George Gordon of Buckie. In the old house of Aberlour was found the following letter, addressed to Patrick Gordon by the young Chevalier from Dalnacardoch in August 1745:—

"My dear Gordon—I am to be at————[1] and trust to see you there, with as many men as you can raise to rally round the Royal Standard—I am your faithfully CHARLES E. STEWART."[2]

Patrick Gordon kept out of the Rising, but his son and heir, James, responded to the call. He was described in May 1746 as "a Captain and very active in his station, has been in the country since Culloden battle, but lurking." He joined Prince Charles at Edinburgh in October 1745 with two companies of foot from Banffshire. In December, Gordon of Avochie and he unsuccessfully attempted to prevent Macleod and his forces from crossing the Spey. They had the Strathbogie battalion under their command, and had been quartering for levy money in Strathbogie and Banff. In the "list of persons not yet apprehended against whom there are proofs of having been concerned in the late Rebellion," dated 22nd November 1746, appears the

[1]This blank occurs in the original letter.

[2]An unusual signature for the Prince, and an unusual spelling; the genuineness of the letter has been doubted.

name of James Gordon of Aberlour, Junr. In another list, drawn up by Lord Albemarle and General Huske of:—

"The most material persons who were engaged in the late Rebellion who have real or personal estates," the young laird of Aberlour is mentioned, but his name is wrongly given as John. His name was also put on the suggested list of those to be excepted in the Act of Indemnity 1747. No evidence was adduced against him sufficient to justify prosecution, but his house of Culquoich was burnt.

Gordon, James, of Cobairdy.

He was the son of Sir James Gordon, 2nd Baronet of Park, by his second wife, Margaret Elphinstone, widow of George Leslie of Balquhain. He was, therefore, half-brother to Sir William Gordon of Park and to Captain John Gordon, who succeeded to Park after the Attainder of Sir William. It is not clear when James Gordon acquired Cobairdy, but he remained in possession during his life and was able to hand it on to his heirs. The rental is given in one of the Government Lists of Rebels of property as £250. James Gordon (probably born in the house of Park) was baptised 30th August 1723, according to the Ordiquhill Register.

He married Mary Forbes (daughter of James, 15th Lord Forbes), who is described as "a very sweet tempered woman, but not very handsome," and by her had James, born 1742, "Sir" Ernest Gordon, born 1743 (who later annexed the Park estates and title), and William, born 1744, "sometime a Lieutenant in the Russian Navy." A curious position arose from marriage of James Gordon with Mary Forbes, as the 15th Lord Forbes married, secondly, in 1741, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Gordon of Park, sister to James Gordon of Cobairdy. Thus the latter was both son-in-law and brother-in-law to Lord Forbes! James Gordon joined Prince Charles at Holyrood, in company with several other lairds from Banffshire, in October 1745, and his action was described as "a great surprise," for "he had no manner of tincture that way, but being a

rambling young lad, was determined mostly by comradeship and something too by the high regard he had for Lord Pitsligo." In Lord Rosebery's List he is described as "James Gordon of Cobairdie, Aberdeen. Acted in the character of an officer." In what regiment does not appear. In his absence, Cobairdy's estate and house suffered when the King's army passed by just before Culloden—but Cumberland, with a justice which was foreign to his proceedings after his victory, seems to have compensated the wife of the absent Jacobite. The "Memoirs of the Rebellion in Aberdeen and Banff," a book favourable to the Whig party, states that "The Army had orders to seize the Corn, Horses, cattle and arms belonging to those in the Rebellion, but to touch none of their other effects, and the generality of the Rebels had foreseen this, and either sold or sent off these things, so that there were but few that suffered much in this way. If any parties of soldiers used further freedom in these houses, which was not often, the Duke, on complaint made, not only obliged the Officers to be at pains to recover the plundered effects from the soldiers, but generally gave a compliment himself to make up the loss; as particularly to Mrs. Gordon, Cupbairdy, he ordered £100 sterling." Marchant's "History of the Rebellion" also states that he ordered "the restitution of every thing that had been taken and gave her his own signed protection."

Gordon of Cobairdy was present at Culloden and, after the battle, went to Rothiemurchus, where he met the Chevalier Johnstone, Sir William Gordon of Park, and John Gordon of Avochie (as related by the Chevalier Johnstone in his "Memoirs"). These four then went together to Banff, where they separated for reasons of safety. It is presumed that James Gordon remained in hiding till a favourable opportunity came of escaping abroad. He went to France, and in 1747 was living at Cleves. Louis XV gave him a company in the French service and a pension. In June 1749, it is recorded that the pension could not be paid, as his dwelling was unknown.[1] In 1750 he was living at Boulogne. James

[1]Archives of the French Foreign Office.

Gordon was amongst those excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and a true bill was found against him (in his absence) in the Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh in 1748. He was described as living in Liege in 1756 "in a very bad house."

In September 1762, Jean Hay, sister of Andrew Hay of Rannes (who was then living in exile at Antwerp), wrote to her brother, "you have doubtless heard of Cowbairdy's being at London. Some of his friends think it best to conceall his being there. Others think best to publish it to the world. His house is puting in repair, his fire is laid in and the other necessaries I hear are providing, so that it's hoped he'll soon come in saifety to the country. He has wrote a letter to Mr. Morison, Bognie, acquainting him that he's to winter at Cowbairdy and that his only drawback from coming down is Mrs. Gordon's not yet being come to London." In December, James Gordon and his wife were in Edinburgh, and in January 1763, Jean Hay again writes to her brother:—"It's some time since Cowbairdy, his lady, sons and daughters came to Putachie." (The old name of Castle Forbes.) "They are just now at Park with Captain Gordon where they propose staying some time. Cowbairdy, I hear, and his lady, looks well and are in very good spirits." Some time after this he must have returned to live at Cobairdy in comfort, for in 1772, Lord Fife, in writing to Lord Suffolk for a pardon for James Gordon of Cobairdy, said that he lived near Lord Fife, and that "he visits and is visited by everybody in the county." Lord Suffolk replied that it was best to leave matters as they were if the gentleman was not molested.

James Gordon died at Aberdeen on 11th May 1773.

Gordon, James, of Glastirem, "a noted rebel and one of the first who appeared." (P.R.O.)

In Lord Rosebery's List he is described as James Gordon of "Clashtirum," and there are several other variants of the name given in contemporary documents, but the above is the actual name of the farm on the Duke of Gordon's estate in the Parish of Rathven, near

Buckie. He is further said to have been "A Captain and very active in recruiting men for the Rebels. Lurking."

He was the son of George Gordon of Glastirem, a cadet of Letterfourie, who had been "out in the '15," and belonged to a Roman Catholic family. He married, in 1738, Mary, daughter of Charles Hay of Rannes (and sister of Andrew), who was also widow of John Leith of Leith Hall, brother to Anthony, etc. (q.v.).

He joined Prince Charles at Edinburgh in October, 1745. Though described in the summer of 1746 as "lurking," he had actually surrendered at Fochabers to Robert Bayly who was in command there.

On 25th November 1747, finding himself, notwithstanding this surrender, placed on the list of those excepted from the Indemnity of 20th June 1747, he sent the following petition:—

> "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Findlater and Seafield, Sheriff of the County of Banff.
>
> THE PETITION of James Gordon of Glastirrum, HUMBLY SHEWETH
>
> THAT your Petitioner has a very small Estate within the said County of about fifty pounds Str. of yearly rent, burdened with very considerable debts, and having been Educated in the Roman Catholock Religion and being young and without Experience was unfortunately persuaded and seduced to enter into the late most unnatural and unprovocked Rebellion, but that his Conduct therein was attended with no aggravating Circumstances. For your Petitioner never bore any Commission, nor levied men, nor touched Publick money, nor was at the battle of Preston or the battle of Falkirk nor did he any hurt or prejudice to any of his Majesties faithfull Subjects, but on the Contrary, constantly refused to submit or to obey any Commands of that Sort. And he begs leave further to assure your Lop. that before the end of the Rebellion, he became deeply sensible not only of the temerity of such an undertaking, but of the Crime of Joining with those who Involved their Native Country in Confusion and Misery by attempting to overthrow a most mild Government,

which Impression has never left him. That in Summer 1746, he surrendered himself in Terms of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's orders to the Commanding officer at Fochabers, as your Lop. will see by the Protection thereupon granted. And that ever since that time he has lived in a most retired Quiet and unoffensive manner, without uttering any Expression or doeing any action that could in the Least tend to promote Sedition, his great desire being to spend all the Remainder of his life as a peaceable and dutifull subject to his Majesty King George, altho he has the great misfortune of being Excepted from his Majesties really most gracious Indemnity. As he has ground to believe that your Lop. has been informed of these particulares by persons of unquestionable veracity and zealous attachment to his Majesty's Government and as he knows that in the strickest enquirey you will find them to be true. May it therefore please your Lop. to lay his Case before his Majesty or before any of the Secretaries of State that they may in such manner as to them shall seem meet, Humbly apply for his Majestys gracious pardon and mercy and if your Petitioner is so happy as to obtain it notwithstanding his acknowledged demerit, he does most faithfully upon the word of honour of a Gentleman promise that during the whole course of his life he will speak and act with the highest gratitude to his Majesty and never will directly or indirectly be in any way accessary to the molesting of his Government or that of his Royal Posterity and believes that, if it is required, he can to the Extent of the free part of his small fortune, find Security for his good behaviour.

And your petitioner shall ever pray.

JAMES GORDON."[1]

His wife (Mary Hay) wrote at the same time to Lord Findlater thus:—"My Lord, I hope the distressed condition in which I and my poor family are involved at present will plead my excuse for presuming to transmit the enclosed petition from my unfortunate husband, which contains his real sentiments. If in compassion

[1] P.R.O.

not only to him, but likewise to me and my young children, your Lordship will be so good as to represent his case, it will be most highly generous and obliging, and I assure your Lordship that if my husband shall be so happy as to obtain mercy, both he and I shall, as in duty bound, constantly return the highest and most sincere gratitude to his Majesty, and earnestly pray for his happiness and prosperity. I am, with sincere respect, your lordship's most faithful, humble servant,

MARY HAY.

Glastirim, 25th November 1747.

P.S.—I have sent the protection granted to my husband by the officer, that you may see the copy transmitted with the petition is a true one, but I must beg you may return it, because I cannot be easie without having it in my custody."

Findlater's own covering letter to the Duke of Newcastle is as follows:—

"Cullen House, Nov. 28, 1747.

I have ground to believe that the facts herein set forth are in general true, and as the Gentleman is naturally of a quiet disposition I really think he is as fit an object of his Majesty's mercy as any of those that are excepted by name in the Act of Indemnity. I am making as much haste as the confusion of my private affairs can possibly allow to set out for London, where I hope soon to have the honour of waiting on Your Grace."

He is here referring to the Sack of his house by the Jacobites, which doubtless had dislocated his business and estate matters considerably.

There is a further note in the State Papers (P.R.O.) to the effect that "Lord Findlater sent, in the beginning of the last winter, to Mr. Stone, a petition of Gordon of Glastirum, who had surrendered himself to one of the Duke's officers—but whose name was inserted among the exceptions in the Bill of Indemnity. This man being the first of the excepted persons, who applied dutifully for a pardon and being of a quiet disposition, it is thought it might have a good effect if he should be pardoned, upon

finding security for his good behaviour. This might shew others their error in not making dutiful application."

There is added in another hand:—"This person had a protection from one of the Duke's Officers immediately after the suppression of the rebellion—but his name happened, thro a want of due Information, to be put among the excepted persons."

Early in 1748 Lord Findlater wrote again, in the same strain, begging "to know what is to be done about Glastirem as I know when I get to the country, the family will importune me about him."

In spite of this powerful advocacy, James Gordon was tried before the jury in Edinburgh on 12th October 1748, but his was one of the cases in which, for want of evidence, a verdict of "Ignoramus" was returned.

He seems to have been a man of weak character, much under the influence of others. After the death of Mary Hay, he married again, and appears occasionally in the letters written from Rannes to the absent Andrew Hay, not always in the most favourable light.

He died on 22nd February 1783, aged 64.

Gordon Charles, of Glastirem, brother of James Gordon (above).

He does not occur in Rosebery's List, and the only fact known about him is that he took command of the company of about 50 men raised by the exertions of Mr. John Gordon, Priest of Preshome.[1]

Gordon, John, of Avochie.

Son of Harry Gordon of Avochie (a cadet of Cairnburrow) who, in 1696, was "tenant of Balquhollie," Turriff, and had been "out" in the '15. John Gordon of Avochie was also nephew to John Gordon of Glenbucket. In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels he is described as "John Gordon of Abochie—a Rebel Collonel." In most of the documents of the period he is alluded to as "Abbochie" or "Abbachie."

[1]See page 265.

The date of his birth is not known, but as he is described in contemporary records as "a very resolute active lad," he cannot have been very old at the time of the Rising. On the 14th August 1745, Prince Charles wrote to him:—

"Being come into this country with a firm resolution to assist the King, my Father's, right, I think it proper to inform you of it, having always heard such an account of your Loyalty and Principles, that I have reason to depend on them. I intend to set up the King's Standard at Glenfinnan, on Monday the 19th instant. Since the shortness of the time does not allow of your presence there, I hope you will not fail to join me as soon as possible. You need not doubt of my being always ready to acknowledge so important a service, and giving you proofs of my sincere friendship.

CHARLES P.R."

John Gordon at once set about raising men in the Strathbogie neighbourhood, and brought three hundred recruits to Lord Lewis Gordon in November 1745. He was given a command and his regiment was known as "Avochie's." In November, Lord Lewis Gordon, writing to Moir of Stoneywood, alludes to "Avachy's discreet conduct in my absence." During December he seems to have been very active in Banffshire, as it is mentioned that "with sixty of his herds and hyremen he played the devil with Lord Findlater's and Glengerack's tenants." Thomas Grant of Achoynany described him as "Lord Lewis Gordon's Prime Minister of Oppression." When Macleod and Munro of Culcairn, with their men, were advancing from Inverness in December 1745, Gordon of Avochie and Gordon of Aberlour attempted to prevent them from crossing the Spey. The two Gordons had been previously levying money in Banffshire, but, not having a sufficient number of men to oppose the Hanoverian troops, they quickly withdrew and joined Lord Lewis Gordon's force in time to meet Macleod again at the Skirmish at Inverurie. Avochie marched his men along the Kintore road. He crossed the Don in sight of the enemy under a galling fire from the Macleods, and, meeting with Lord Lewis's men, who

had crossed the Urie, the two forces were able to complete the defeat of the Government troops.

Avochie did not go into England with Prince Charles' army, but remained in the north with Lord Lewis Gordon, raising men and holding Aberdeenshire and Banffshire for the Stuart cause. Both were present at the battle of Falkirk, and the following undated letter from the Duke of Perth to Colonel John Gordon of Avochie was written about that time:—

"Sir,

Tho' you was ordered to march the men under your command out of town, yet, as the exigencies of the service requires ane alteration of these orders, I take it upon me to answer for the consequences, and therefore command you to remain with your Batalion in town, and what amonetion will be wanting, you are to call for the same from the Keeper of the Magazine at St. Ninians: fail not in this, as you shall be answerable.

PERTH."

John Gordon seems to have returned to Banffshire almost immediately after Falkirk, and is next heard of in February at Kildrummy, having marched there with a force of two hundred men from Tarland, and on the 18th of the same month he joined the main Jacobite army at Elgin.

Though not present at the sacking of Cullen House, Avochie and his battalion met the plunderers on their way back to Fochabers carrying their loot. He was very angry at what had taken place, and endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to prevent the carrying away of the booty.

He was present at Culloden, where his battalion, with Fitzjames' Horse, enabled Lord Elcho to repel successfully an attempt to envelop the right wing of the Prince's army. After the battle he escaped and met Sir William Gordon of Park and James Gordon of Cobairdy at Rothiemurchus, and proceeded with them towards Banff. Eluding capture, he wandered about Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, and is supposed to have hidden for a while in the staircase of the old house of Avochie. The present house was built by John Gordon's son—all that

remains of the old house[1] being two ruined gables, which form a striking object on the rising ground above the Deveron, near Rothiemay station.

John Gordon apparently went about the country openly at one time, for on 25th August 1746 Sir Harry Innes wrote to Lord Albemarle about the insolence of some rebels who had recently been in Elgin, especially mentioning Gordon of Avochie, "whose audacious behaviour and activity your Lordship has no doubt heard of." On Sunday, 31st August, there occurred an outrage in which it has been hinted that John Gordon of Avochie was concerned. About 10 o'clock at night a party of 12 armed rebels, "commanded by a young man who appeared to be about 30 and look't like a gentleman and a low country man," went to the house of Alexander Garden at Troup, about 8 miles east of Banff. Garden's well-known zeal for the Hanoverian cause had made him particularly obnoxious to the Jacobites, who, on that occasion, broke into his house and seized his person. The *Scots Magazine* says "they went to Mr. Gairden's bedside, and demanded £2,000 from him. As he could not produce that sum, they made him write to his friends to produce the money and threatened him with death if it was not forthcoming in 3 days time. They seized all his papers, about £140 of money, and at one o'clock on Monday morning they set out from Troup carrying Alexander Garden prisoner with them." They went in the direction of the Tap o' Noth. Troup's servants, who were to deliver the letter for raising the £2,000, were ordered to come the following Wednesday to the Glen of Noth above Whitelums (a farm close to Gartly Station). They appeared at the place appointed, but could not affect their master's escape. Troup's friends and relations also tried to bring about his release, but, failing in this, they went to Aberdeen and Banff to raise the military. The account concludes:—"John Phelp, servant to Troup, heard the young man who commanded the Rebels say that tho' he received the £2,000, it was small to divide amongst so many noblemen and gentle-

[1]Which was probably burned by the Government troops.

men whose houses were burnt and his amongst the rest." The military seem to have acted with promptitude. On 9th September Lord Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, wrote that "the Rebels, finding themselves close pursued, released him (Mr. Garden) on Saturday night (Sept. 6th) at ten o'clock. But if they think I have done with them for showing this mark of Indulgence, they are mistaken, for I will have them dead or alive, for so audacious an act was never committed."[1] He failed, however, to capture the kidnappers or recover the many valuable papers taken from Mr. Garden. Indeed, these were only finally recovered by the agency of John Gordon of Avochie, who stipulated for a protection from Government before he would proceed to seek for the documents, which seems to suggest that he had been concerned in the affair from the beginning. Nothing at all happened for nearly six months, and it is to be presumed that during this period John Gordon remained more or less in hiding.

In February 1747, Alexander Garden wrote to Lord Rothes at Edinburgh:—"There is one John Gordon of Avachy, an Aberdeenshire gentleman, who has an estate of near a hundred pounds sterling upon which he has above eleven hundred pounds sterling of debt, besides his Mother's jointure. This gentleman having been engaged in the late rebellion, was proposed to me as the most proper person to find out my papers, being a man of activity and universally acquainted among that set of people." Acting upon this tribute to John Gordon's character and the nature of his friends, Lord Albemarle apparently granted Avochie a protection first of all for a month and subsequently for another two months, during which period he was supposed to have been searching for the lost documents. Alexander Garden continues:—"Avachy has now sent me notice that he has got such accounts of my papers that he thinks he can't fail of recovering them, but that he is afraid to stay longer in the country, as the spring is now coming on, and he must expect to be hunted by the soldiers so soon as the weather grows good." John Gordon had asked

[1] P.R.O.

for an unlimited protection, and said that if he did not get it he would have to leave the country. So Garden appeals to Lord Rothes to help him as "these papers are of the utmost consequence to me," and suggests cynically that if a protection were granted, it could always be recalled "at pleasure." He also adds that he thinks he deserves some "favour from the Government, having suffered more by the Rebellion than any one man (excepting my Lord Findlater)." He had also kept up a correspondence with the men of war upon the north-east coast of Scotland, which no one else dared to do; as witness to this he cites Captain Tyddeman, who commanded the ships.

Believing that there would be a further extension of the protection, Gordon set about the task again; and in so doing he gave "some offence by appearing openly in several places in the country." This is shown by an unsigned "informer's letter" to General Bland, in the Public Record Office, of date September 1747, stating: "That in Aberdeen and Banffshire a gentleman, who was there from the middle of September to the beginning of October, did on the 20th September see Gordon of Abbachie, who is ane attainted Rebell, publickly walking with the officer who was in command at Strathbogie, who is a Captain, and it was said that Abbachie had a protection for the time from Lord Justice Clerk, in order for the recovery of Mr. Garden of Troup's papers, and a promise of further protection to find out more of these papers."

There is also a long letter from the Earl of Rothes to the Duke of Newcastle, undated, but subsequent to April 1747. Lord Rothes points out that Mr. Garden did not know any of the persons who carried him off, but he later received information that John Gordon of Avochie would be the most likely person to recover his papers for him: and had also received advice to give Mrs. Gordon hopes that if she could prevail with her husband to procure restitution of the writings and to make a humble petition for pardon, he (Garden) would use his interest with his friends to recommend that petition. "On 16th April last, Mrs. Gordon did send to Mr. Garden the writings which

had been taken from him, together with an humble petition praying for pardon, which Mr. Garden is very desirous should be granted." Lord Rothes, therefore, "knowing Mr. Garden well, and that he has no sort of connection with Mr. Gordon of Avochie, save wishing to secure him a reward for the service done, hopes that this mark of favour may be shown to Mr. Garden, a gentleman of remarkable loyalty and no inconsiderable property in that part of the Kingdom." Nothing, however, apparently resulted from Avochie's petition or this letter, and the matter of pardon seems to have been left where it was.

The Act of Indemnity was passed in June 1747, and John Gordon of Avochie was one of those excepted. Shortly after the passing of the Act there was presented "The humble Petition of John Gordon of Avochy which Sheweth that your petitioner was exceedingly grieved to find his name on the list of exceptions from your Majesty's most gracious Act of Indemnity—That he is affected with the deepest sorrow and affliction for the offences which have given occasion to this exception, and must with the greatest humility apply to your Majesty's unbounded clemency which has been so liberally extended to unhappy offenders upon this occasion—That he is most sincerely and firmly resolved to spend the remaining part of his life in that duty and loyalty that becomes all your Majesty's subjects and to embrace every opportunity of exerting himself to the utmost of his power in everything that can tend to your Majesty's service in support of your Government, from which so much happiness is derived upon all your subjects. May it therefore please your most excellent Majesty to extend your Royal Clemency to your petitioner in such manner as to your Majesty in your great wisdom shall seem meet. And your petitioner shall ever pray—Jo. Gordon."

Another petition, unfortunately, like the above, with no date, runs:—"I fly to your Majesty as the fountain of mercy and doe most heartily repent of any concern I might have had in the unnaturall rebellion as having been headlessly led away by evil example and bad advice."[1]

[1] P.R.O.

There was, however, no result.

William Grant, M.P., Troup's uncle by marriage, repeated the request for a protection for John Gordon in February 1748, and after this date there is no record of any further applications on his behalf.

In October 1748, a true bill of High Treason was found against him, "in absence," and, shortly after this, or perhaps before, John Gordon must have escaped to France, for his name occurs in a list in the French Foreign Office of those of Prince Charles's officers who were recommended for pensions from the French Government.

"Jean Gordon. Si quelqu'un merite des graces du Roy c'est cet Ecossais qui avait formé, parmi ses fermiers et voisins, une compagnie qu'il joignit au Régiment qu'on avoit commencé de lever pour le Roy."

(If any one deserves favours from the King it is this Scot who formed a company among his tenants and neighbours for the Regiment being raised for the King.)

He was at that time living in the Scots College in Paris, and was described as "un bon sujet militaire."

It seems probable that he remained in France, as did so many other Jacobites, until the year 1763, but he had apparently been settled quietly at home for some years before 16th September 1767, on which date he writes from Avochie to George Forbes of Skellater at Boulogne-sur-mer:—

"Dear Sir, Your favours of 15 May came to my hands some months ago. I can assure you it will always give me a very great pleasure to hear you are well wherever you are, and the oftener the more agreeable. I own I expected to have had the pleasure of seeing you here before you left Scotland; and if you had hinted your straight for horses and the time it would have been convenient, mine were always at your service. I would have answered your letter in course, but as John Gordon of Achanachie died a little before Whitsunday last, and that his brother Capt. Adam Gordon, who has been between 30 and 40 years in the King of Naples service was daily expected home, I delayed till his arrival."

He then goes on to explain that he had been one of

the Commissioners to manage the estate of the deceased John Gordon till his brother's arrival, so he (Avochie) must have been living at home quite openly, having paid the necessary fine.

He married Mary, only child of Peter Gordon of Ardmeallie, a noted Whig. She is described as "a person of very superior habits and thereby did much to enable her husband to pay the £500 fine for his Jacobite tendencies." She died in 1785. They had a family of 3 sons and 2 daughters, one of whom, Ann, married James Hay of the Rannes family, whose grandson, Adam Hay, succeeded in 1857 to Avochie and assumed the name of Hay-Gordon.

John Gordon of Avochie died at Aberdeen in April 1778.

Gordon, John, of Beldorney.

According to Lord Rosebery's List, where he is erroneously described as "James" and "a Volunteer," he held no commission, but J. M. Bulloch says he was a Major in Prince Charles' army. He was born 22nd April 1723, being the son of J. Gordon of Beldorney (died 1740), and Mary, daughter of John Gordon of Law and Wardhouse (whose brother, Arthur, succeeded to Wardhouse).

John Gordon of Beldorney married, 4th September 1745, Margaret Frances, daughter of Patrick Smyth of Methven, an enthusiastic Jacobite. When Prince Charles arrived at Holyrood in the autumn of 1745, Mrs. Gordon offered to embroider a waistcoat for him, and for that purpose borrowed two satin vests, which belonged to the Prince, as a pattern. Mrs. Gordon began work on a crimson one, but owing to the disturbances of the time, was never able to finish it. The three waistcoats were sold at the Union Bridge Auction Rooms, Aberdeen, on 3rd November 1898, being described by the auctioneer as:—

Item.—"Light yellow satin vest, richly embroidered: yellow satin vest richly embroidered." (These two articles were bought for £33 15s. 0d. and £51 respectively by Miss Shirres, Bon-Accord Crescent, Aberdeen, "on

behalf of a London Gentleman with Jacobite proclivities.")

Item.—"Crimson silk vest with massive gold embroidery, begun by Mrs. Gordon, but unfinished." (Bought by Mr. Hay, iron-merchant, Aberdeen for £22.)

John Gordon of Beldorney fought at Culloden, and on his return home was hidden by his wife in a secret chamber at Beldorney. Another version of the story is that his widowed mother occupied Beldorney Castle, and, shortly after Culloden, a man was employed to build dry-stone dykes on the estate. This workman must have been employed for some time, for the number of dykes erected by him was considerable; he was also inexperienced, for the dykes were not very well built. One day he disappeared as suddenly as he came, and it subsequently turned out that he was none other than John Gordon of Beldorney, whose hurried departure was probably due to his identity becoming known to the authorities.[1]

He died in October 1760, and his wife (at Dundee) on 23rd December 1791. They had several children, amongst whom were Alexander, who became laird of Wardhouse, and was hanged as a spy at Brest in 1769, and another son, Charles Edward, who succeeded to Beldorney and Wardhouse.

Gordon, George, brother of John Gordon of Beldorney.

He is not entered in Lord Rosebery's List, unless wrongly described as "*Charles* Gordon, Gentleman, Beldornie, Banff. A Volunteer. Not known."

He was the second son of Gordon of Beldorney and his wife, Mary. It is not known when he joined Prince Charles' army, but towards the end of 1745 he was sent, in the Jacobite interest, to search the gentlemen's houses in East Lothian for arms and horses. He seems to have been rather a careless person, for he dropped his pocket-book on the road near Tranent in 1745, and this was picked up and handed to the Government authorities. J. M. Bulloch supplies a letter to him from his mother,

[1] Much the same story is told about Jonathan Forbes of Brux (q.v.).

so quaintly spelt that it must be quoted. It is addressed to "George Gordon of Beldorney att Edenbrought."[1] It begins:—"Dr. George—I am glad to find by accedent you are weill, tho you did not writt me all the whill ye wase in the Country. That I atterbut more to the herry than neglectt, whoever writt by post on the first occation what regiment or company ye are in, and your Driction. My Dr. George, be ernest at the Almighty God to perserve, and giv scuckcess to the prince victeruss armess, behev lik a man of honour and your father son. We are very wull all hear, but the news of the last engagement; the falls word of our frind's death puts us all in allarme, however I am hartly sorry Tillary death in so bad a cass. Your Brother is at fatterneer (Fetternear) he took his Live of me. What he is to do I know not. Giv my kind complayment to Capt. Cook Stron. Your Uncle Sandy I saw his wiffe weill on Sunday last. Cass him accept his word. Mr. Brocky your sister and all hear Jines in this complayment to you and all frinds—and ever I am Der George your effe (affectionate) Mother whill MARY GORDON."

The George Gordon thus addressed was never of Beldorney, as it belonged to his elder brother, John, also out in the '45. Some time after Culloden, George Gordon "went to surrender himself for being in the rebellion but was detained and imprisoned on suspicion of being an officer in the rebel army." This occurred at Huntly on 15th September 1746. He was in prison at Aberdeen on 14th December 1746. Of his subsequent fate nothing is known.

Gordon, John, Chamberlain to the Duke of Gordon.

He is not mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List, and it is not known to what family he belonged.

His connection with the Rising was not very serious. He met and consulted with Lord Lewis Gordon in October 1745. The latter writes:—"I sent for Mr. John Gordon, the Duke my brother's chief Commissioner—he advised me not to see my brother. . . .

[1]Unfortunately there is no date.

Your Grace (The Duke of Perth) will be so good as not to mention Mr. Gordon's being with me on these affairs as he does not care to meddle in a public way."

On 25th December 1745 Thomas Grant of Achoynany wrote to Ludovick Grant of Grant:—"I am informed that John Gordon, chamberlain in Strathbogie, disarmed the last of the Macleods and Monroes who came up in twos and threes crossing the river." That was after the fight at Inverurie.

There are a few other references to him in the State Papers and in the Add. MSS., British Museum.

He was a prisoner in Inverness in April 1746, and not having been taken in arms was one of those to be tried by the Civil Court, "for aiding and abetting the Pretender, while in this country." The Duke, his master, no doubt procured his release, as nothing more is heard about him.

Gordon, John, of Glenbucket.

This is the famous "Old Glenbucket" of both the '15 and the '45, who was born about 1673 (he says himself that in 1747 he was 74 years of age).

In Lord Rosebery's List he is described as "Major General in the Rebel army, and was very active in pressing and recruiting men. In the hills."

His grandfather, George Gordon of Knockespock, and *his* son, John, bought the estate of Glenbucket in 1701 from Adam Gordon, a distant relative, who was connected with the Gordons of Park. The John Gordon now dealt with was the son of the above John who bought the estate, and though related, was not really representative of the old Gordons of Glenbucket, but his personal celebrity has long since eclipsed any record that may have remained of them.

Little is known of John Gordon's youth, except that he was at King's College, Aberdeen, where he had as a fellow student the celebrated Lord Lovat, some years his senior.

After leaving Aberdeen, John Gordon returned to Glenbucket, and for many years acted as "Regality Baillie" on the Strathbogie estate of the Duke of Gordon.

In 1724 he was nearly murdered by a party of six Macphersons who came to his house one night. Glenbucket was ill, and the Macphersons forced their way into the room where he was lying in bed. High words were exchanged about the Duke's affairs, and, whilst the argument increased, the Macphersons crept nearer and nearer to the bed. Suddenly they drew their dirks and attacked the defenceless Glenbucket. John Gordon, to their great surprise, seized his broadsword, which was fortunately handy, and not only beat off their attacks but succeeded in driving all six from the room and out of the house; he was then over 50!

Previous to this, John Gordon had been out in the '15, and was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where he fought in the first line. The lack of generalship displayed was fatal to any decisive result, and John Gordon is said to have exclaimed, "Oh, for one hour of Dundee."

In 1737 he sold the estate of Glenbucket to Lord Braco for £700 (it has been suggested that he did so in order to have ready money to lend or give to Prince Charles), and became tenant of his Chief, the Duke of Gordon, on the farm of St. Bridget, Tomintoul. In the same year he visited the old Chevalier at Rome, when plans for the future Rising were undoubtedly discussed, and he was given a Major-General's commission. Proud in the possession of this, he returned to Scotland, and for the next few years, though outwardly carrying on his usual affairs, he was secretly working hard to engineer the restoration of the Stuarts. Dr. Blaikie (following Capitaine Colin of the French Staff) would make Glenbucket chiefly responsible for there having been a Rising of 1745 at all; in any case it was certainly owing to the personal influence of Glenbucket and Lord Pitsligo that the Jacobites and the waverers of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire "came out." They followed the former from fear and the latter from "the love and respect they bore him," as many of them testified. When the Prince landed in July 1745, John Gordon of Glenbucket (who retained that title all his life though the property was no longer his), was one of the first men to join the Prince, despite his 72 years. Supported by three sons and a

John Gordon of Glenbucket.

From a print in the possession of Hugh Lumsden of Clova.

grandson, he met the young Chevalier at Kinlochmoidart on 18th August, when he delivered up to him Captain Swettenham of General Guise's regiment, who had been captured when going from Fort William to Ruthven.

Very shortly after Prince Charles' landing (the actual day of the event not being given), Murray of Broughton, who had joined him early in August, set out again to hasten the march of other friends, and the following story is in his Memoirs:—"On the second day in the morning when about seven miles from Locheil's house, he observed five persons on horseback who he took from their dress to be officers of the Independent Companies from Fort William. One of these Gentlemen with his pistol cocked asked Murray who he was, where he was going and desired a small sword he had gott in his hand. While they were parleying together in this manner *(the phrase is Murray's own)* another came up and pulling the cape of his coat from his head proved to be Glenbucket to whom he had a letter in his pocket, and who was then upon his road to pay his duty to the Chevalier." This story, however, is as little worthy of credence as some other of Murray's statements, as, according to Dr. Blaikie's "Itinerary," both John Murray, summoned from the south by messenger, and old Glenbucket, coming from the north as fast as his "little grey beast" would carry him, joined the Prince on the *same day*, viz., 18th August.

Two interesting notes on Glenbucket occur in the Culloden Papers.

Lord President Forbes on hearing of the landing of Prince Charles wrote:—

"14 August 1745.

I have some confidence in my old friend Glenbucket's prudence and temper that if he hear of the thing, he will give Glengarry good advice to prevent his certain destruction, and I doubt not he will be ready to take it."

On the other hand, the Lord President wrote to the Marquis of Tweeddale:—

"20th September.

After Sir John Cope left this county, Mr. Gordon of Glenbucket, whom your Lop has often heard of, with

some Highlanders and some zealots of the Shire of Banff, have gone a recruiting to reinforce the force that are gone southward."

On 28th August Glenbucket was sent by the Prince from Dalwhinnie to raise men in the Braes of Mar as well as in the Enzie and Upper Banffshire districts. He adopted most severe methods, threatening, seizing and compelling the unwilling to take part. On 7th September, Glenbucket requisitioned a number of horses, taking the Duke of Gordon's from Gordon Castle, and others from Fochabers and Auchlunkart. In this connection there is a letter written by Sir Harry Innes to Ludovick Grant of Grant, dated Elgin, 10th September 1745:—

"Dear Sir, We ar hear in perpetual alarm for Glenbucket; he took sume of the Duke of Gordon's horses and arms this morning.[1] This alarm and search for horses has determined me to send mine under your protection. Yow have the most of my cavalry, and God knows they ar but very indifferent. Was it not mor for humour that they shall not have them, then the reall valow, I should not send one out of the way. Lord Braco, his son Jamie,[2] and Mr. Duff, younger of Hatton,[3] went to the west this day, to be free of Glennie. I met his Lordship as I was walking to Innes, and now I must walk, for the divell of a hors I have worth riding." This letter shows the terror which Glenbucket and his methods of raising men, horses and supplies caused to the immediate neighbourhood. The fame of his exploits spread far and wide, and rumour had it that even George II, safe in London, would sometimes wake in terror lest "de Great Glenbogged was coming." John Gordon seems to have been disappointed with the results of the recruiting for, on 14th September, he wrote to Prince Charles from Huntly:—

"I did believe when I parted from ye armie that I would mete with no difficulty in raiseing ye countries I

[1]He also adds:—"I am sory to tell you that the Duke is quite wronge," i.e., has Jacobite sympathies.

[2]Afterwards the second Lord Fife, at that time 16.

[3]Alexander, born 1718, elder brother of James. See page 143.

should come into, on ye least advertisement, when I had your highness' orders for that effect: but, contrair to expectation, by advyce of some unthinking people, I have had great difficulty to get some few together. I have not faill both by word and writ to use all endeavours to prevaill with great and small to joyne ye royall standart, and all pretences cane be used for delays I dayly gett. It would be troublesome to your Royal Highness to give an long detail of what has happened or[1] I yet come. Since the bearer, Collonel Stewart, knows a good daill as I have informed him to informe your Highness, I waite here to have intelligence of two companies of foott on their march to joyne Cope and, if practicable, I inclyne to stope their march; iff I faill and find it not convenient, I have advyce that I will find some horse and armes with some disaffected persone, and without loss of tyme I shall have the happiness to waite of your Royal Highness. I wish success and prosperity to your royall Highness and ever remain with all dutiful respect, may it please your Royal Highness.

Your Highnesses most humble, most devoted and most obedt. servt.

Jn. Gordon."[2]

There is a contemporary annotation on the back of this letter, "Glenbucket to the Prince."[3]

There is also a long letter in French to Sheridan from Glenbucket about the composition of the army and the various commands. He seems to have been on better terms with the Prince's Irish favourites than were most of his Scottish brothers in arms.

When General Cope arrived at Aberdeen from Inverness on 11th September, Glenbucket was at Strathbogie, and there was great fear that he would surprise the town and capture the magazines which were there for the army, so Cope took ample measures to protect the town. Munro of Culcairn, with some troops, had

[1] Before.

[2] P.R.O.

[3] But it appears in the Official Catalogue as being from "the Marquis of Huntly!"

accompanied Cope to Aberdeen, and, returning by way of Banff, entered that town on the very day that Glenbucket left it. The latter had now by various means collected between 300 and 400 men, ably assisted by his nephew, John Gordon of Avochie, and, having received an urgent summons from Prince Charles to rejoin without delay, he proceeded to Edinburgh. The *Caledonian Mercury* of 25th September 1745 thus reports his advance:—"A letter from Forfar says General Gordon of Glenbucket is arrived here and will march this evening in order to join the Highland Army in the Lothians. He has under his command a numerous body of Select Gentlemen and private people!" In the march south he is described as "an old man much crouched, who rode on a little grey highland beast." He was so feeble that he had to be assisted to mount his horse and he was racked with rheumatism. One account states that he had been bedridden for some time before 1745. He was too late to take part in the victory of Prestonpans (21st September), as he did not reach Edinburgh until October, when he joined the Prince at Holyrood. A letter from an anonymous correspondent in Edinburgh, now in the French Foreign Office, of date 18th October 1745, says:—"Le 15 Octobre le Général-Major Gordon, Seigneur de Glenbucket se rendit au camp de S.A. Royale avec 1400 hommes des cantons de Glenlivet, Strathdon etc." The anonymous correspondent seems to have exaggerated the numbers. Glenbucket immediately became a member of Prince Charles' Council then formed, and was present at its deliberations as long as it lasted. He took part in the advance into England and the retreat from Derby. Of his behaviour at the Skirmish of Clifton, 18th December, Lord George Murray relates that "Glenbucket, who was very infirm, stayed at the end of the village on horseback. He was sorry he was not able to go with me. He gave me his targe: it was convex and covered with a plate of metal, which was painted: the paint was cleared in two or three places with the enemy's bullets." He was present at the battle of Falkirk on 17th January 1746, but in March he was once more back in Strathbogie levying money and forcing men. He rejoined Prince Charles and fought at

Culloden, making his escape after the battle, and subsequently attended the conference at Loch Arkaig on 8th May, at which an endeavour was made to organise another Rising, but the attempt failed. In May he is described as being "in the hills." In June 1746 Glenbucket was tried in his absence at Southwark, found guilty and attainted—he was then wandering about Banffshire, being searched for by the Government troops. In August two men named Alexander Innes and William Grant, who had taken part in the Rising, were granted a pardon on condition that they would give "such intelligence of Glenbucket as he might be apprehended." Sir Harry Innes, writing to Lord Albemarle, states that:—"These young men to my certain knowledge have been at pains in their endeavours to apprehend him; and there was such intelligence given by them, that his escape was narrowly. If your Lop. thinks proper to grant a protection to these young men, without mentioning the cause, they will still continue their endeavours to make good what was first proposed, and surrender themselves when the protection is expired."

In spite of all attempts to capture him, Glenbucket lurked near St. Bridget for some months and saw his house pillaged and burned, after he escaped from it. It is said that he lay in the heather a short distance away and watched the house burning.

The following letter to James Edgar, Secretary to the old Chevalier, describing these events, is in "the Stuart Papers":—

"St. Ouen, 21st August 1747.

Dear Sir,

I doubt not you was surprysed I neither writ since I come from Rome;[1] but I unluckily left the Key you gave me at parting, which I hope will plead my excuse, for I was looked pretty close to after I got home for some time by reason of representation the Duchess of Gordon had given Sir Robert Walpole that I was gone to Rome, and her grounds were, Mr. Peter Grant the Churchman (came with me to Rome) had waited for me

[1]That is, before the Rising.

there in order to go with him to Rome. This story indeed was like to have brought me to trouble; but by assistance of friends I got over it, tho' indeed it obliged me to act very cautiously; yet by ways and means, I made it my business to keep up a spirit amongst the King's friends until the Prince came, who, I had the happiness to wait of when he arrived (old and infirm as I was) amongst the first, and continued with him till that fatal and unhappy day at Culloden, and since that time it is not possible to represent what dangers and fatigues his Royal Highness underwent, and for my part, all looks on me as a miracle that escaped, considering the situation of my health and age. It would be too long a tale to give an account of all, but I thank God I got this length after all this misfortune has befallen me. I do not despair but hope to live to see the King restored; it is my earnest prayer and wish. I am now a very poor man, 74 years of age, banished my country and attainted, my house burnt, my wife and family obliged to leave the country where I lived, and go amongst her relations, and I supported only on their charity. The damned government of England had such spite and malice against me, that when all was burnt and taken away, her back clothes and children's, she got into a poor cottage, a tenant's house, there came a party to burn it, and did burn the next, which obliged her in the melancholy situation the children were. I had come out of a dessert that morning, twelve miles from any country, where I had lain 48 hours under a rock, and had travelled terrible rocks and mountains in a prodigious rainy night: and after I had got a bit of meat, such as my wife had to give, I laid myself down on a little straw to rest, but behold I was not lain three minutes, when I was told there was a party within half a mile, which obliged me to make off in haste. The party came before I got to a hill on the other side of the river, and burnt a house at the door where my wife and children staid, which obliged them remove in all haste. I retired to a little wood, and continued there till night, when I travelled till daybreak, and lay in a hill all the day. Some parties were near me searching. However I was not found. When the night came on, I went to a poor

man's house and changed my clothes with his rags, prevailed with the poor man to go along with me, and he put me down to the coast in the low country and returned, where I turned beggar, and allowed my hair to grow on my face: but that could not save me. Whatever disguise I put myself in, I had the misfortune to be still suspected. Parties were sent from all places to search all the shires of Aberdeen and Banff for me, and not spare money to find me. In this way I continued some months. At length I got a Swedish ship, and got myself privately in the night-time aboard on 25 November, and landed in Norway, where I fell very bad. I continued there till March. I took such roads through great mountains, rocks, and woods, in stormy snowy weather, travelled in a slade for 5 or 600 miles, travelled without a horse, that before I got to Sweden was exhausted. I got to a place in Sweden called Stromstade—was able to go no farther—took bad how soon I came there — fell in a fever for a month—nobody expected life for me—people sitting by me every night, still expecting when I should breath out my last; yet it has pleased God to recover me, and I have got here, where his Royal Highness does me great honour. There is such malice against me that I understand they put 1000 pounds on my head; but I hope to see the King restored, and more heads go off or mine goes. I have troubled you too long with such unlucky story. And now I must tell you what troubles me more: all my loss is The commission which his Majesty was pleased to honour me with in 1738, when I was at Rome, was taken amongst my papers when my house was robbed and burnt, but am hopeful his Majesty will renew it. Its date, if I mind rightly, was the 2nd of February, when he was pleased to design me in the Major-General's Commission As 'old John of Glenbucket,' which approved of the Commission I had from Earl Mar. I had not the boldness to apply to his Majesty myself (I must own I have not great assurance to demand favours for myself) but my dear Mr. Edgar, amongst all the rest of his many favours, does me the favour to speak to the King. I am hopeful he will do me the happyness to comply: and if it is my good fortune he does (for I

esteem the honour more than any thing this side of time) I would beg the Commission should be writ on parchment, because paper cuts and even loses the seal, which was the occasion I had laid it amongst my papers, and did not carry it about me. I hope you'll make my good wishes and my blessing acceptable to his Majesty, and pardon this trouble which, with an offer of my service, which at present is not worth while of offering, yet you'l be so good as to believe none can wish you better, nor have greater regard and respect for you than Dr. Mr. Edgar

Your most affectionate, most humble and obedient servant,

J. Gordon."

James Edgar replied, sending the duplicate asked for; its fate, however, is not now known.

In the summer of 1746 the Government received information that a French Privateer, manned by Dutchmen, which was cruising off the East Coast of Scotland, was to call at Peterhead to carry off Glenbucket and any other Rebels that could be met with. Lord Albemarle writes in October 1746 to the Duke of Newcastle that as "the escape of the Pretender's son is now beyond all doubt, our future care must be employed in apprehending those chiefs of his party that remain behind, amongst which are many of some consideration." In the list given is to be found the name of "Old Glenbucket."[1] Hounded out of Banffshire, disguised as a beggar, he travelled across Aberdeenshire, and, with James Moir of Stoneywood and Sir Alexander Bannerman, he embarked, as has been seen, on 25th November 1746 from the coast of Buchan on a small Swedish sloop and landed in Norway, ultimately finding his way to St. Ouen. As was to be expected, considering his legendary fame, there are many stories told about Glenbucket. Some accounts state that he escaped with the Prince from Loch-nan-Uamh on 19th September and took part in an almost triumphal reception at Versailles ten days after their arrival, but this is apocryphal,

[1] P.R.O.

as he would not have returned to Scotland afterwards! Two other legends, gathered from letters in the State Papers, are equally without foundation. On 4th November 1745 it was reported that he was taken prisoner by the "Fox," man-of-war, as he was crossing the Firth, and on 1st January 1746 the Archbishop of Canterbury writes to Lord Grey:—"I have nothing to communicate for I know no particulars of the taking of Carlisle. I am sorry to find that all the chiefs are got into Scotland, with the exception of Glenbucket, who dyed in Carlisle!"

No doubt the Hanoverian Government wished it were true.

Later notes in the French State Papers about Glenbucket are as follows:—

1747. "Mr. Gordon de Glenbucket, proche parent des ducs de Gordon et chef de la branche des Glenbucket. C'est un viellard infortuné, qui manque ici de nécéssaire et que le Prince néglige. Il est maréchal de camp de l'armée jacobite depuis 1715. C'est d'ailleurs un homme médiocre. Il avait armé environ 200 de ses vasseaux."

(The "médiocre" refers to Glenbucket's social and financial standing in the eyes of D'Eguilles, who often uses the word, and does *not* mean mediocre intelligence!)

1747. "Etat des officiers à qui le roy a bien voulu accorder, à la prière du Prince Edouard, une gratification. Gordon de Glenbucket, ancien Maréchal de Camp, 4000 fr."

A further list 5 Juin 1749 "Gordon de Glenbucket 2000 fr."

1750. "Jean Gordon of Glenbucket, pensionaire de la France. Gratifications proposées pour les Ecossais. Gordon of Glenbucket—1,500 liv."

"On croit qu'il seroit juste que M. Gordon de Glenbucket eut 2000 livres au lieu de 1,500, ayant servi en qualité de Maréchal de camp."

By the end of 1747 he had gone to live at Boulogne with the colony of exiled Jacobites, and died there on 16th June 1750. His death is thus recorded in the *Scots Magazine*:—"At Boulogne-sur-la-mer, in the 77th year of his age, John Gordon late of Glenbucket. This

gentleman was always a zealous friend to the Stuart family, raised and commanded a Regiment for their service in 1715: and in 1745, tho' then enfeebled with old age, exerted himself with juvenile ardour in the cause."

John Gordon of Glenbucket had married, in 1702, Jean, elder daughter of Harry Forbes of Boyndlie, and had four sons:—

1. John,
2. David,
3. George,

all out in the Rising (q.v.).

4. Alexander, the fourth son, was in the Russian Navy, and was killed in the Black Sea in 1740.

And six daughters:—

1. Helen, married John Macdonald or Macdonnell of Glengarry, and so became stepmother of Alastair Macdonald or Macdonnell, young Glengarry, identified by Andrew Lang with "Pickle the Spy."
2. Isobel, married to Donald Macdonald (Macdonnell) of Lochgarry.
3. Christian, married to George Forbes of Skellater, who escaped to France after Culloden. Their son was "Jock Forbes," the famous Portuguese general.

Three unmarried:—

4. Henrietta.
5. Clementina.
6. Cecilia.

It will thus be observed that John Gordon of Glenbucket had three sons, one grandson and one nephew, besides three sons-in-law, concerned in the '45—a stalwart Jacobite family.

Gordon, John, eldest son of "Old Glenbucket."

Described in the List of the Supervisor of Excise as being at Auchriachan in the summer of 1746; "Raised men for the Rebels, took the name of Collonel, but was not above a week with them."

He seems to have been a somewhat degenerate son of such a redoubtable sire. Born in 1707, he married,

about 1728, Ann, daughter of Sir Alexander Lindsay of Evelack, and had a son, William (q.v.).

The above statement as to his being at his house of Auchriachan in the month of June, after the battle of Culloden, was erroneous. He himself wrote on 14th April 1746 (two days before the battle) from Gordon Hall (now Wardhouse) to the laird of Grant (a Whig) that he had surrendered to General Cadogan. After this he went into the Highlands, ostensibly to advise the people to give up their arms, but the Government apparently did not trust him. He was arrested in June and imprisoned at Inverness, where, in great destitution, he was assisted by Mrs. Leith, and conveyed to London in the following month on the transport "Pamela," the conditions on board which are fully described in the following Memorandum:—

> "Report of Mr. Minshaw who was sent to Woolwich to examine into the state of the rebel prisoners on board the transport there. 21 August 1746.

On Thurs. night the 20 Aug. bet. 8 and 9 o'clock I went on board the vessell called the Pamela. Saw the commanding officer of the Guard over the prisoners, who appointed next morning at 6 to inspect the Prisoners and take an account of their names etc. At which time I attended and, on my looking down into the hold where the prisoners then were, was saluted with such an intolerable smell that it was like to overcome me, though I was provided with proper herbs and my nostrils stuffd therewith. After seating ourselves on the Quarter-deck the prisoners were called up one by one, such as were able to come, and on being asked, told their names, in what Reg. or corps they served, of what age they were and where born. The number of those who came on deck was 54, many of whom were very ill, as appeared by their countenance and their snail-creep-pace in ascending the ladder, being only just able to crawl up. Eighteen left below were said to be utterly incapable of coming on the deck, unless by the help of a sling, which was not thought necessary, as two of the most hardy of the Guard went down into the hold and took an account

of their names etc. A fair copy of which, as well as of the list taken above Deck I would have transcribed, but the Commanding Officer who wrote the list taken above chose to do it himself and send it as mentioned in his letter.

To hear the description given by the Guard, who went into the hold, of the uncleaness of that place, is surpassing imagination, too nautious to describe, so that that, together with the Malignant Feaver raging among them and another odious distemper peculiar to Scotchmen,[1] is such a complication of Disorders that if not timely remedied by a speedy removal from the Ship (which is very small) is much feared will terminate in a more dreadfull plague than any hereinbefore mentioned. The Commanding Officer desired me further to represent that the guard he had there are not now engaged in the King's service, therefore not liable to Military punishment for neglect of duty, and that they are so harrassed with watching as to be quite worn out therewith, taking it in turn alternately day and night, two hours on Duty and 2 off; and that he is in danger of being deserted by them all and left alone to Guard the prisoners."

Young Glenbucket therefore presented a petition to the Duke of Newcastle as follows:—

"The humble petition of John Gordon, sheweth that yr petitioner who during the late unnatural rebellion lived peaceably at home, was in the month of June last seized by a party of the King's Troops and carried prisoner to Inverness, and afterwards in the month of July put on board the Pamela Transport and carried to the river Thames, where he now remains and has undergone great hardships. That, tho' your petitioner's father was unhappily engaged in the rebellion, yet he himself was not. His inclinations led him to remain quiet and peaceable. Besides, he was otherwise incapable to act in any capacity whatever, having been deprived of sight and utterly blind for several years past; for the truth of which your petitioner begs leave to appeal to the attestation of the Reverend Mr. George Grant, minister

[1]The Itch.

of the Gospell at Kirkmichael (being the parish in which your petitioner resides) hereto annexed.

Your petitioner from a consciousness of his innocence therefore humbly prays your grace would be pleased to order that he may be released out of his confinement, which he has now suffered for five moneths.

And your petitioner shall ever pray.

(signed, but very badly) J. GORDON."

The petition was written in October 1746, enclosing the minister's letter of a month earlier:—

"I here do certify and declare that John Gordon, younger of Glenbucket, who dwells in Auchreachan in this parish, but now prisoner at London, was for some years past much threat with blindness; and, having several times applyd phisicians at Perth and Edinburgh, he at last got account of Doctor Taylor, the famous occulist, then being at Edenburgh, and waited for him for some months there. And about Martinmas 1743 he returned home, no better but rather worse, and was repute as a blind man ever since. Said Mr. Gordon did not joyn the rebel army, was never at any action with them, but was always at home during the battles of Preston, Falkirk, and Culladden, and did not allow his tenants pay cess to the rebel army: which example had great influnce on the whole parish.

Given at Kirkmichael in the County of Banff the 6th day of September, 1746, and attested by

GEORGE GRANT, Min."[1]

The cause of John Gordon's blindness is stated by Lord Elcho (who says many spiteful things!) to have been drink. In any case, he was, when in prison, a most pitiable object. The Rev. James Taylor, parson of Thurso, a fellow captive, wrote on his behalf to beg for pecuniary assistance from the Rev. George Law (q.v.). This was in October 1746. Shortly after, interest was made to have him removed on 1st November to the house of Mr. Dick, Messenger, where the most distinguished of the imprisoned Jacobites, including Flora Macdonald,

[1] P.R.O.

would seem to have been collected, and a further complaint was made to Mr. Andrew Stone, dated 22nd December 1746:—

"Sir, We whose names are underwritten, being so crowded in our present confinement that we suffer very much in our healths, doe most earnestly beg the favour of you that you would be so good as to interceed with his Grace the Duke of Newcastle on our behalf for a permission now and then of breathing a little fresh air in the Park having a messenger with us, which will infinitely oblige sir,

Your most humble obedient servants.

John Gordon, Junior of Glenbucket (he being blind).
Ranald MackDonald from Garislouch.
Aeneas Macdonald.[1]
Ronald McDonald of Clanranald.
Alex. McDonald of Boisdale.
Roderick McNeill of Barra.
Malcom MacLeod from Island Sky."

No answer to the above seems to have been vouchsafed, but on the 20th June 1747 John Gordon was released in accordance with the Act of Indemnity (from which he was not excluded) and given the sum of ten guineas to convey him home, this being double the amount given to other prisoners, no doubt on account of his blindness.

The date of his death is not known; his wife died in 1750.

Gordon, William, grandson to Glenbucket, "of Achreachan, a Captain in the rebel army, at home." (Rosebery.)

William was the son of John Gordon, younger, of Glenbucket, and his wife, Ann Lindsay. He cannot have been more than 15 or 16 years of age in 1745, and is referred to by informers, who say they know him as "Glenbucket's grandchild." Of his after life nothing is known, but he left a son, who, in his turn, had a son Charles, the last male descendant of Gordon of Glenbucket.

[1]The banker, one of "the seven men of Moidart."

Gordon, John, farmer, Colonach, Huntly.

May have been the son of Alexander Gordon of Colonach, son of Alexander of Beldorney. All that is known of him is contained in Lord Rosebery's List, where he is described as above, and his whereabouts are said to be unknown.

Gordon, John, of Cordregny.

Also only known from the List of the Supervisor of Excise. He is said to have "carried arms in the rebel army, to have submitted himself, and to be now at home."

Cordregny is at the head of Glenlivet, in the parish of Inveraven.

Gordon, Patrick, of Cordregny, son of the above.

Also known from the entry in the Supervisor's List, in the same words as those used for his father.

Gordon, John, of Minmore.

Was the eldest son of William Gordon, third laird of Minmore. He was a captain in the Jacobite army. In Lord Rosebery's List he is entered under Elgin, and is stated to have behaved discreetly and protected the houses of Sir Harry Innes and several ministers. He is said to have commanded Prince Charles' bodyguard at Culloden. He wandered about the country after Culloden, for it is mentioned that he has "no residence," and apparently he was accompanied by Alexander McDonald, servant, Minmore, who carried arms in the Rebel army, and is described as being "in the Braes." John Gordon, benefiting by the Act of Indemnity of 1747, returned later to Minmore, and was served heir to his father in August 1767. He married and had four sons, William, who succeeded him in Minmore, Lewis, John and Henry. He died in August 1776.

Gordon, John, Priest at Preshome.

Son of Peter Gordon, wadsetter, Birkenbush, was born in 1706. After studying in Paris, he was ordained,

and became assistant in Rathven, subsequently being appointed Missionary and Librarian at Preshome. He was living there at the time of Prince Charles' landing, and from the first appears to have shown decided Jacobite tendencies. Shortly after Gordon of Glenbucket began to raise men in Banffshire, John Gordon of Preshome preached a sermon "in his chapel at Homie" earnestly exhorting the young men of the Enzie to enlist, and after the service at least a dozen lads accepted the white cockade. It is said that he did not confine himself to recruiting in his sermons, but went about the country urging the young men to rise, explaining to them that their religion as well as their loyalty made this a duty. Eventually a company of about 50 men was raised in the district, commanded by Charles Gordon, brother to Glastirem, and was joined to the Duke of Perth's regiment.

The Rev. John Gordon went with this company, first to Perth and then Edinburgh, but on the Jacobites advancing into England he returned to his duties at Preshome. After Culloden he did not think it safe to appear openly in the neighbourhood of his former home for the first twelve months, and the Supervisor of Excise in the Banff District describes him as "Popish Priest, Pres-holm, Banff. Whereabouts not known."

He was subsequently taken prisoner at Aberdeen, but was discharged on bail on 13th March 1747.

During his absence a party of soldiers went to Preshome, and not finding him, removed all the valuable books and church vestments. These were placed in handcarts and dragged to Cullen, where they were burnt at the Market Cross. The commanding officer, Lieutenant Monro, behaved in the most outrageous manner; as if to incite the soldiers to greater excesses, he put on some of the vestments in ridicule, and was forward in throwing the various articles into the flames. This behaviour soon met with a just reward. That very afternoon, an officer of militia, of the name of Campbell, who had been arrested for some misdemeanour by the orders of Lord Charles Gordon, commander of the party, happened to find a loaded gun in the room in the Tol-

booth in which he was imprisoned. With hatred for Lord Charles in his heart and desiring to be revenged, he approached the window and saw Lord Charles standing in conversation with Lieutenant Monro near the spot where the burning had taken place. He aimed the gun at Lord Charles and fired, but the ball passed through the cuff of his Lordship's coat and penetrated the stomach of Lieutenant Monro, mortally wounding him. The remarkable fact was noted at the time that the blood of Lieutenant Monro actually ran among the ashes of the books and vestments in the remains of the bonfire.

After the Act of Indemnity, John Gordon resumed some of his duties and used to celebrate at night in a kiln at Boggs. He appears to have gone to the charge in Buchan about 1748 or 1749. Of his later career little is known, except that he died "under a cloud" at Rothiemay, 9th November 1752, aged 46.

Gordon, Lord Lewis. "A Lieut. in the Navy. Acted as Governour of Aberdeen, and Collonel of a Regiment of the Rebels." (Rosebery.)

He was the third son of Alexander, 2nd Duke of Gordon, who died in 1728, and his wife, Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of Charles, Earl of Peterborough; his brothers being Cosmo George, 3rd Duke of Gordon, Lord Charles and Lord Adam. He was born in 1725, and had a commission in the navy. In August 1744 he was third lieutenant in the "Dunkirk," but he joined Prince Charles at Holyrood in October 1745, and was appointed to a command in the Highland army. The *Caledonian Mercury* of 16th October 1745, thus chronicles his arrival:—"Yesternight the Right Hon. Lord Lewis Gordon, third son of the deceast Alexander, Duke of Gordon, came and kissed the Prince's hand, and joined his Royal Highness's Standard. The Court, which was very numerous and splendid, seemed in great joy on this occasion, as several gentlemen, not only of the name of Gordon, but many others in the shires of Aberdeen, Banff and Murray, who had declined joining the Prince's Standard unless some one or other of the sons of the Illustrious House of Gordon was to head them, will now

readily come up and join the Army." From the contemporary account of the Rising in Aberdeen and Banff, contained in W. B. Blaikie's "Origins of the Forty-Five," we learn that "They (the Jacobites) wheedled over to their party Lord Lewis Gordon, imagining that the very name of one so nearly connected to the Duke would have a great influence on the tenants and dependants of that family, and they well knew that His Grace's indisposition at that time would prevent any effectual measures being taken to stop this procedure. Lord Lewis was a Lieutenant in the Fleet, and had unhappily come down at that time to visit his mother, the Dowager Duchess, who stayed near Edinburgh. There he met so many old friends and acquaintances engaged in the Rebellion, who laid all oars in the water to gain him; and this indeed was no hard matter to a forward young lad like him, especially as he was to have a Feather in his cap, and to be made Lord Lieutenant of Aberdeenshire and Governor of the Towns of Aberdeen and Banff, with power of disposing of all places in them." As has been seen, the Duke of Gordon took no active part in the '45, but he used his influence against the Jacobites. He remained at Gordon Castle till March 1746, when he proceeded to join Cumberland in Aberdeen, where Lord Braco and the Earl of Findlater had already preceded him.

Lord Lewis was appointed a member of Prince Charles' Council at Edinburgh. On the departure of the Highland army for the expedition into England, Lord Lewis was sent north with instructions to raise men in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, the districts in which his family had for centuries exercised almost unlimited authority. For several weeks he was busy raising men for the Prince's service, and he obtained most of his recruits from the Enzie in Banffshire and from Glenbucket, Strathbogie, Cromar and Braemar in Aberdeenshire. His methods appear to have been drastic, for he issued an order that every landed proprietor should furnish an able-bodied man, or £5 sterling, for every hundred pound Scots of his valued rent, under penalty of destruction of houses and crops. By these means he was able to raise a regiment of two battalions.

In October 1745 he reached Huntly Castle, which he made his headquarters, and there he collected arms and money. On 6th December he demanded from the city of Aberdeen the sum of £2,847, and, marching from thence, he completely defeated the Government troops, under Macleod of Macleod and Munro of Culcairn at Inverurie on 23rd December, and took forty-one prisoners. As a result of this, the red coats were forced westwards across the Spey, and Lord Lewis held practically all the country from Aberdeen to the Spey for the Prince. Four days after the action, Lord Lewis wrote the following letter to Macleod:—

"Sir, I have received your letter by express last night dated Gordon Castle the 24th. All the care in our power has been and shall be taken of your wounded men, and all the prisoners that were taken under their arms shall meet with all the civility in our power. But for Regent Chalmers, Forbes of Echt and Maitland of Pitrichie, who have acted the infamous part of spies and informers, and the two last especially who have given a great deal of bad advice to a certain great man who shall be nameless,[1] it is neither consistent with my honour nor inclination to treat them as prisoners of war. . . . I shall send you a list of the prisoners and wounded with any useless papers and letters as soon as possible, and any other thing that we can reasonably agree to, shall be done with pleasure."

Lord Lewis remained in command of the companies in the north until shortly before the battle of Falkirk,[2] after which he appears to have gone north again, for on the surrender of Fort Augustus to the Jacobites, on 5th March, he was left with a few troops in command of that place. He was present at the battle of Culloden and fought in the second line. His name was reported among the prisoners taken after Culloden, but this was a mistake, and in Lord Rosebery's List, compiled in November 1746, his whereabouts are "not known." The well-known song, "O send Lewie Gordon hame," was

[1] Either the Duke of Gordon or Lord President Forbes.

[2] 17th January, 1746.

written by Dr. Alexander Geddes, a Roman Catholic divine and writer, who was born at Pathheads, in the parish of Rathven, Banffshire.

Lord Lewis remained for some time in hiding in various parts of Aberdeenshire, but at length managed to escape to France, and lived among the other Jacobites in Paris and elsewhere. In a MS. in the French Foreign Office he is described as "very reckless and obstinate, and sometimes so much deranged as to have to be shut up," and is said to be living "chez un tapissier, Rue Terrane." ("Il est presque brouillé avec le Prince, qu'il ne voit guère.")[1]

He became very anxious to return home. On 30th November 1751 he wrote to his brother, the Duke of Gordon:—

"The very bad state of health I have been in for a year has given me a great inclination to return home. Since I had the happiness of seeing you in Paris I have been 16 or 17 times blooded for violent fevers and now am subject to violent cholicks and pains in the stomach. Neither dare I take any severe exercise for fear of having one of these terrible fevers; and I assure you that my constitution has become so tender that I am not fit to follow any public business. Now, my Lord Duke, I shall begin with humbly begging pardon of you for my foolish behaviour, which I beseech you to forget, and I hope, my dear brother, in consideration of my misfortune and the melancholy state of my health, you will have the goodness to apply to His Majesty for leave for me to come home. I am not so ambitious as to think of the attainder being taken off, and all I want is just to live peaceably in Scotland without ever meddling with public affairs. I am ready to make all the submissions that his Majesty and the Ministry ask of anybody, and whatever your Grace promises them in my name I assure you on honour and conscience I shall perform."

In the following January he wrote another letter to his brother in the same strain, but both fell into the hands of the Government and never reached Duke Cosmo.

[1] "He has almost quarrelled with the Prince whom he scarcely sees."

Nothing was done for poor Lord Lewis, and he died "of a fever," unmarried, at Montreuil on 15th June 1754, in his thirtieth year.

"He had only a personal estate to which his Mother the Duchess of Gordon entered a claim and had the same ascertained to her by the Court of Session, against which decree an appeal was entered, but not as yet heard." (Forfeited Estate Papers.)

A curious letter is preserved in the P.R.O. relative to some of his personal property, dated:—

"Custom house,
2 October 1747, to Andrew
Stone, Esq.

Sir,

Mr. Fairfax not having heard from you in relation to a Trunk of Lord Lewis Gordon's, which was left at his house before he entered into the late rebellion, supposed to contain wearing apparel, he desires to know whether you will please to order some person to see it opened and examined that it may be sent into Scotland if there is nothing but necessarys in it, agreable to the request of the Dutchess of Gordon, his Mother.

Sir, Yr most devoted servant, Wm. Wood."

When the Duke of Cumberland was marching from Aberdeen on his way to Culloden in April 1746, he passed by Fyvie Castle and he saw a lady with her young son sitting by the roadside, watching the army on its march. "Who are you, madam?" asked Cumberland, to which the latter boldly replied, "I am Lord Lewis Gordon's sister." She was Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of Alexander Duke of Gordon, and third wife of William, 2nd Earl of Aberdeen. Their eldest son was General the Hon. William Gordon, afterwards Member of Parliament; in 1746 he was ten years of age.

Gordon, the Rev. Robert, Roman Catholic Priest, younger brother of Patrick Gordon of Kirkhill.[1]

[1]He was uncle to the Isobel Gordon of Kirkhill who married Glenbucket's son, David (q.v.).

He was born in 1687, and entered the Scots College in Rome from the Diocese of Aberdeen in 1705. He was there ordained priest and left it in 1712 for Paris, where he remained 6 years. In 1718 he was appointed chaplain to the 2nd Duke of Gordon, and at the latter's death in 1728 went to Edinburgh, where he remained till 1743. He held office as Procurator, but his chief occupation was translating the New Testament into English. He went to Rome in 1743 to endeavour to get Papal approval for this version, but did not succeed in doing so. When he returned to England in November 1745 he was apprehended on the charge of being a spy and of carrying on treasonable correspondence with Jacobites and with France, and was lodged in Newgate, where he lay some time in irons. The following letters and papers about him are in the State Papers.

A warrant, dated 8th November 1745, to Nathan Carrington and Rutt de Witt.

"To authorize and require you (taking a constable etc.) to make strict and diligent search for Robert Gordon, a Romish priest, of whom you shall have notice and him being found, to seize and apprehend him for treasonable practices and to bring him in safe custody, together with his papers, to be examined before me concerning the premises, and to be further dealt with according to Law. Harrington."[1]

Another warrant says:—On 25th December 1745, "To the keeper of Newgate or his deputy.

These are in his Majesty's name to authorize and require you to receive into your custody the body of Robert Gordon, a Romish priest, herewith sent you for treasonable practices, and you are to keep him safe and close until he shall be delivered by due course of Law."

On 3rd February 1746 the Rev. Robert wrote to Mr. Westman, Secretary to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Harrington (Sec. of State):—

"from Newgate.

Sir,

I troubled you some days ago with a lyne to the

[1]Gordon is elsewhere described as lately living at Mr. Bruce's, a tailor in Eagle Street, near Red Lion Square.

Shewing of my innocency with respect to the things I was charged and accused of. I now trouble you with a short petition to my Lord Harrington, which I hope you'll have the goodness not only to deliver but also to recommend, and I shall always look upon myself as infinitely obliged to you. If my petition is granted, which I hope in God it will be, grant me my little effects if you please, which are in Mr. Carrington's hands, which I promise I shall take along with me, and likeways someday with his Ldp's protection, ane passport and I shall give you I think the surety that is proper, and I shall always pray for Mr. Westman for whom I shall always have great regard and respect.

I am with all sincerity, Yr most humble and obedt. servant,

Rt. Gordon."

Next day he wrote again :—

"February 4th 1746.

I trouble you with a lyne yesterday with a petition to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Harrington. In this petition I mentioned I was willing to go to any place his Lop should think proper. By this I meant to any place the Gentleman that carried the petition mentioned to me. Such as Liège, Wurtzburg, Ratisbonne, or any Roman Catholic town in Germany, for out of the three kingdoms I promise to go, and to France or to any of the French dominions I shall not, as God is my witness go, nor write to anybody upon the subject of news, as long as the trouble and rebellion in Scotland continue. So I hope no advantage will be taken from my writing so, but as you have had the charity to begin this affair, so you'll have the goodness to finish it, and I shall always most gratefully acknowledge it, and my poor prayers shall never be wanting to procure unto you all the blessings both spiritual and temporal."

In the petition itself he says:—"Your petitioner is not conscious to himself that he ever did anything to deserve the displeasure of the Government, never was concerned in any scheme or plot against your Majesty, directly or indirectly,

Yet as your petitioner is advanced in years (he was nearly 60) and is infirm, rather than be put to any further trouble, would be glad to leave the Kingdom."

Gordon was removed from Newgate on 5th February and re-delivered to Carrington. The petition for release was granted, and on his finding bail, namely £1,000, in two sureties (Thomas Mailan of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, bookseller, and William Runciman of the parish of St. Mary le Strand, woollen draper, in £500 each), he was allowed to depart out of the Kingdom, and was sent to Holland; the following receipt for his passage being given:—

"Harwich, February 28th, 1746.

Received from the hands of Mr. Nathan Carrington, one of his Majesty's Messengers in ordinary, the body of Mr. Robert Gordon, which I promise to land in Holland, in obedience to his Lordship's warrant, in ye 'Prince of Orange' packet boat.

As witness my hand,

PHILIP BOGGIT."

Docketed:—

"Commander of the Prince of Orange packet boat, his receipt for Robert Gordon, the Romish priest."

Gordon went from Holland to Paris, where he remained for two years, when he returned to Rome and lived in a hermitage at Nerni till 1753. The last ten years of his life were spent at the Scots College in Paris. His death occurred at Lens in 1764, at the age of 77. He was never able to obtain official sanction for his version of the New Testament.

Gordon, Robert, junior, of Logie.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is mentioned as "Junior of Logie, Longmay, Aberdeen. Joined the Rebels at Edinburgh. Rent of Estate £150." Later, in the return, he is mentioned as "Robert of Logie, Crimond," the rent of his estate is then given as £260, and he is described as having "a fine house." The annotator of

Lord Rosebery's List says that this second entry apparently refers to the father of Robert, junior. This is an error, as the father was Alexander Gordon, 3rd of Logie, who, although he may have sympathised with the Jacobite party, yet is not known to have gone "out." His son Robert joined Prince Charles' army at Edinburgh, served as a lieutenant, and was very active.[1] He was excepted from the Act of Indemnity, and on 14th October 1748 a "true bill" was found against him in the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, but he seems ultimately to have made terms with the Government. He succeeded his father in 1752, and sold Logie. He married, and had two sons, Alexander and James. The latter, according to Henderson's "Epitaphs," was for long a farmer at Mains of Logie, and afterwards at Mains of Orrock, Belhelvie.

Gordon, Thomas, Fodderletter.

He was the son of George Gordon of the same place, descended from Alexander of Killihuntly, a cadet of Beldorney.

He occurs in Lord Rosebery's List as "A captain in the Rebel army, under the influence of Glenbucket. Said to be in Badenoch."

He married Isabella, daughter of John Macpherson of Invereshie.

Nothing more is known of his activities in the Rising or after it. He had four sons, George, John, James and William. (Cuthbert, inventor of the "Cudbear dye," is believed to have been his grandson.)

Gordon, George, eldest son of the above, "carried arms in 1745, but submitted to the King's Mercy."

He died in 1764 at Leith as Manager of the Cudbear Works.

[1]A curious sidelight on young Robert Gordon of Logie is that just one month before joining the Prince in Edinburgh he had obtained from the Lord Advocate, through the medium of his neighbour, Mr. James Ferguson of Pitfour, a "pass to go to his father's house." He was at that date considered to be among the "well-affected to the Government."

Gordon John, his younger brother, is returned in Rosebery's List as having been an "Officer in the Rebel army, now dead. 1746."

Gordon, William, "Merchant and Ground Officer to the Duke of Gordon at Cabragh. Prisoner at Tilbury." (P.R.O.) This is probably the same as the man in Lord Rosebery's List described as "William Gordon, Glenrinnes, carried arms as a Private man, at home."

The P.R.O. papers further state that he was "taken at Strathbogie," that is Huntly, probably after the date of the compilation of the Lists of the Supervisors of Excise. He appears in a Government List of those of whom it is said "a number of these are proposed as evidences or are really innocent," so he may have been set at liberty quite soon and returned to his work at the Cabrach. On the other hand, a fair number of the unfortunate "evidences" were detained in London for more than three years; some were even discharged and sent to Edinburgh, and then brought south again, as their services were further required.

On 20th December 1749 it was decided that "all the remaining evidences, 14 in number, in the house of Mr. Carrington, be discharged on account of the expense of keeping them, which is 4d. per day. The only person against whom they could now witness would be Lord Pitsligo," and apparently the Government had abandoned hope of apprehending him, which they never did.

Gordon, Sir William, of Park.

The eldest son of Sir James Gordon of Park and his wife, Helen Fraser, was born in 1712. Little is known about his youth, but his name appears on the Burgess Roll of Banff in 1730, and he seems quite early to have taken part in the county affairs, for he was present at a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply held at Banff in June 1735. He continued to be most active in county matters for the next ten years.

Sir William Gordon married, in June 1745, Janet Duff, second daughter of Lord Braco. She is said to have eloped with him from Rothiemay, leaping from a window for the purpose; she was 15 years younger than he, being only 18. When Prince Charles raised the Standard at Glenfinnan on 19th August 1745 Sir William Gordon at once threw in his lot with him and joined at Perth in September, taking with him five servants. He was attached to the Court at Holyrood, and, according to the account of witnesses at his trial (held in his absence), was often to be seen in the Prince's company in his Highland dress and officiated as a Colonel, both in the reviews of the troops and at the battle of Prestonpans. Sir William's commission is couched in the following terms:—

"Charles Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland England France and Ireland and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to Our Right Trusty and well beloved Sir William Gordon of Park Greeting, We Reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Courage, Loyalty and Good Conduct Do hereby Constitute and Appoint you to be a Lieutenant-Collonell of his Majesties forces in the Regiment of Horse commanded by Lord Pitsligo And to take your Rank in the Army as such from the date hereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty and trust of a Lieutenant Collonell aforesaid, By doing and performing everything which belongs thereto. And we hereby require all and every the officers and Soldiers of our forces to observe and obey you as a Lieutenant Collonell and yourself To observe and follow all such orders Directions and Commands as you shall from time to time receive from Us, Our Commander in Chief for the time being, or any other your Superior officer According to the Rules and Discipline of War In pursuance of the Trust hereby reposed in you. Given At our Palace of Holyrood house the Eighteenth day of October 1745.

CHARLES, PRINCE REGENT."[1]

According to papers in the French Foreign Office,

[1]This document is now in the Scottish National Library.

Sir William Gordon ("le Sieur de Gordon") was sent over to Paris by Prince Charles in October 1745 to represent the urgent necessity of French help and a speedy descent upon England. He stated that when he left the Prince, the latter had 12,000 troops under arms and enumerates them.

Henry, Duke of York, said in a letter to Charles that this mission of Gordon's had had a good effect.

In the "Lockhart Papers" allusion is made to the fact that "the Prince then sent a Gentleman to the Court of France to give an account of his success and to desire more supplies."

Before the expedition into England, Sir William was made one of Prince Charles' Council and marched with the army to Derby. As a witness deposed, he was "at that time dressed in a sort of highland clothes." At the momentous Council, when, much against the wish of Prince Charles, it was decided to retreat, Sir William Gordon and the Duke of Perth "were for going to Wales, to see if the Welsh would join." But the resolution was adhered to and the retreat began on 6th December. When the Jacobites pillaged Cullen House on 8th April 1746 the Duke of Cumberland withdrew the protection he had granted to the house of Park, but a contemporary account states that "most of the effects were carried off from Park that were of any value," that is before the Government troops arrived.

Sir William Gordon was with the army at Culloden, and the day after the battle he wrote the following letter to his wife:—"April 17th 1746. Dear Madam— As you have heard of our misfortune in general, I have sent you this line to assure you that I am well, and most earnestly begs you'l take care of your health and of my child's. I wish you would goe to your own house as soon as possible. You can get leave that you may be brought to bed there, as the country you are presently in will be nothing but a scene of misery. When I can get a safe opportunity you shall hear from me. Till then, my dearest life, God bless you. Adieu." The letter is not signed. Lady Gordon was then a prisoner at Inverness. She was shortly after this allowed to go to her mother

at Rothiemay, and there her daughter was born. A few days after Culloden, Sir William Gordon of Park, his half-brother, James Gordon of Cobairdy, John Gordon of Avochie and the Chevalier Johnstone, were in hiding at Rothiemurchus. The Chevalier Johnstone gives an amusing account of his collecting cairngorms in the hills. "Having return to dinner, when my friends saw me enter with a large bag of flints, they burst into a loud laugh; and Gordon of Park exhorted me, very seriously, to think rather of saving myself from the gallows, than of collecting pebbles. He advised me to pass the night at his Castle of Park and I accepted his offer." Sir William Gordon and Johnstone returned to Park, but as the former was being keenly pursued, he considered it advisable to quit his house and went to the farm of Craigmartin below the Knock Hill (close to Glenbarry station). Here he remained for some time, and a number of soldiers was told off to watch the house of Park and camped outside. The remains of their encampment can still be traced and used to be known familiarly as "the ramparts." The Act of Attainder laid down that if Sir William Gordon of Park and others "should not surrender themselves to one of his Majesty's justices of Peace on or before the 12th day of July 1746" they be "attainted of High Treason." He did not surrender himself and so the attainder took effect. It was possibly from the farm of Craigmartin, or some other place on the way to the coast, that the following letter, from Sir William Gordon to Lady Braco, his mother-in-law, was written:—

"Aug. 22nd Friday's morning (1746). Madam, I have the Honour of your Laps. letter this morning, and hopes you will be so good as excuse my sending the enclosed under your cover. Pleas forward it to my Wife, as I must have ane answer to it upon Sunday's afternoon at farthest, as I leave the country then. I am under very great obligations to all your friends here both the old and the young, and shall beg the favour your Lp. will take ane opportunity to return them thanks. My guide ran a great risque of drowning to help my getting forward on my journey. I return your Lap. a

great many thanks for your good wishes, but am afraid the season is too far gone for the dark clouds to be removed from us untill summer return, at present. I expected after our Countrymen the Cambells left the country that the greatest cruelty would be over—if these new people continue in the same way, the most of people who can leave the country will soon be glad to doe it. I again beg your Lap. will send the enclosed letter. I have the honour to be with very great respect. W. G." The letter is addressed:—"To the Right Honourable The Lady Braccoe at Rothiemay," and the cover is endorsed in Lady Braco's handwriting, "Sir William Gordon, when in hideing." It is clear from the above that Lady Braco and her friends had given Sir William such assistance as was possible under the circumstances. The next allusion to him is contained in a letter from the Earl of Albemarle to the Duke of Newcastle, of date 22nd November 1746:—"I had information yesterday, from a man who saw them on board that about three weeks ago, Lord Nairn and his son, Oliphant of Gask, and his son, the present Lord Strathallan, Sir William Gordon, with several others, went from Arbroath in small boats on board a Danish ship and each paid Fifteen pounds for their passage, but where bound is unknown to the Informer. This might have been prevented if the Officers of the Revenue had done their duty, who never acquainted their Principals with it, but no better can be expected from them as most of them are Jacobites." It seems impossible that Sir William can really have been of this party, and Albemarle's informant must have mistaken the identity of one of the fugitives he saw leaving Arbroath on this date, for the following letter, from a man who knew Sir William personally, shows him as seeking a different refuge.

(From the Newcastle correspondence, British Museum.)

"Brodie House, Dec. 27, 1746.

My Lord, I beg leave to acquaint your Grace that Sir William Gordon of Park, who made his escape cross the Murray firth from Murray to Sutherland some months ago, is still lurking, by the name of Mr. Grant

Sir William Gordon of Park.

From the picture at Park.

in the County of Sutherland or Caithness, and that when he went into Sutherland he had the Earl of Sutherland's permission so to do and assurance of protection. All this I know to be true, but if it is known even by my friend the Earl of Sutherland that I am your Grace's Informer, it will prove of fatal consequence to me.

I have the honour to be with great respect and esteem,

My Lord Duke, Yr. Grace's most etc.
ALEXR. BRODIE."

Endorsed:—"The Lord Lyon." (Add. MSS. 32.709.)

That Sir William successfully escaped abroad soon after this date (though where he went is not clear) is proved by the following letter from Lady Gordon to her father, Lord Braco:—"Aug. 26th 1747. My Lord. Nothing can give me more consearn than my being obliged to write your Lordship of my resolution of going abroad, a thing that must be against what you wish me to doe. I hope in God as a kind parent you'll forgive me for this step when you see its not in my power to gett the better of it. In the first pleace were I to stay, it would make a breach between my husband and me, as he has layd his positive commands on me to come over to him, and after what past between him and me at Edinr. I know it would break his peace and mine for ever if I disobey'd him. My dear Lord, you know I have mate with many misfortunes but the lose of my husband's affection would be heavier as all I have mate with, and you may be assured that would be the consequence were I to stay after so many absolute orders he's given me. If yu think it any way needfull for me to be in this country in the spring or at any time, I will most willingly come back, as all I want is to see my husband and to show him that I'll obey him. When I see my husband I'll endeavour to show him that his siteation of his affairs is not in such a bad way as he imagions, and show him at the same time that his friends is doing all that lys in there power to bring things to a happy conclusion. I shall add no more to this but beg your Lordship will continue your friendship to my husband

and me, and be assured that we will never fell in our dutifull regard what ever be our fates. I ever am, my dear Lord, your most affectionate Daughter and Faithfull servant—JANET GORDON."

Lady Gordon went abroad and joined her husband in France, taking her infant daughter with her. Sir William, however, seems to have made a rash return to Scotland after his first escape. More than one attainted Jacobite did this, among others, Dr. Archibald Cameron, Lochiel's brother, who made several trips back and forward, being finally caught and executed at Tyburn on 7th June 1753. The date of Sir William's return to Scotland is not known, but he had been specially excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of June 1747, as well as attainted in the previous Act. Presumably urgent business impelled him to take the risk, and he was very nearly captured by some Government troops at the end of October 1747. On 4th November, Lord Findlater reported to the Lord Justice-Clerk that on the previous Sunday a party of soldiers from Banff and Cullen had made an ineffectual search for "persons attainted and exempt from the indemnity." The commander of this party was, curiously enough, a Captain Gordon. In the neighbourhood of Park this party had seen a mounted and well-dressed man "who crossed their front at a quarter of a mile's distance in a hand gallop." When the captain sent an officer to examine him he at once "set spurs to his horse" and then the captain and the officer pursued him. On noticing this "he drove through the boggs up a hill as fast as he could, but the officers in pursuing got their horses bogg'd and found themselves invironed with dykes and boggs, so that he fairly made his escape through his better knowledge of the country." After the individual had escaped, the officers cross-questioned some of the local people, who admitted that the man was Sir William Gordon of Park. Shortly after this he again escaped abroad and served the Emperor of Germany, who (it is said) allowed him and his heirs the rank of the first class of the nobility of Hungary. Later on he lived at Boulogne, for there in 26th March 1749 was born

John James, his eldest son, consequently regarded as an "Alien." Another son, William, was born abroad in 1750. In that year Sir William and his wife were living at Douai, and from there she writes to Lady Braco, on 19th May, that "we live pretty reasonable hear," and she refers to "the tender state of health I'm in. The only devertion I take is any day that I'm eable to go out, which is not many, to goe a little airing in the chaise, as Mr. Johnston *(this name was used by Sir William Gordon for purposes of concealment)* is obliged to keep a chaise and horse upon the account of his traivling sometimes upon his business." Sir William was appointed Lt.-Colonel of Lord Ogilvie's regiment in the French service, which regiment was first formed in January 1747. Lady Gordon in the letter to her mother continues:—"We was a good deal alarmed hear with a feavour that they say was raging in Aberdeenshire. I was afraid it would come to Banffshire. I'll assure you, my dear Madam, that my thoughts is oftenest there. All the other unconveniences I have is not near so hard upon me as being banished from you and my dearest friends." The letter is signed "JANET JOHNSTON." As a postscript she adds:—"I return your Ladyship many thanks for the dryed fish, they came very soft here and is very good."

In 1748 Lord Clare had applied to Monsieur le Comte d'Argenson to try and obtain permission, during the conferences preliminary to the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, for Lord Ogilvie and "le Sieur de Gordon" to return home. The reply was that as Gordon was "personally proscribed," it could not in any case be done.

He was several times allotted considerable sums from the money granted to Prince Charles by the French Government, and appears on the list of the "Officiers à qui le roi a bien voulu accorder, à la Priere du Prince Edouard, une gratification." (French Foreign Office.)

Sir William died at Douai on 5th June 1751 and was buried in the ramparts at that place. Lord Ogilvie wrote to the Chevalier de St. George:—"Douay, June 6th 1751. Sir, I am sorry to acquaint your Majesty that you have today los'd a very worthy subject, Sir William Gordon of Park, Lt. Colonel of the regiment I command.

Your Majesty will have many solicitations about his commission, no doubt, as all the Captains of my regiment have their commissions of the same date." Doctor Archibald Cameron, writing from Douai 11th June to Mr. Edgar, says:—"I am sorry to acquaint you of the death of our Lt. Colonel, Sir William Gordon of Park, who died last Saturday of a fever, after 12 days sickness, much regretted, as well known to be a man of honour and honesty. His fidelity and sufferings in the royal cause, no doubt you are known the particulars of, yet there is a lucky relief turned out lately for his children and family, which is that the Parliament of Britain has given the estate to a brother of Sir William's who is in the British Army: as it was tailzied, they could not forfeit it." The brother alluded to was Captain John Gordon of the Marines, who held the estate of Park till his death in 1781. Lady Gordon was left very badly off after Sir William's death and was still at Douai in 1752. She returned to Scotland that summer, and in 1753 she married George Hay of Mountblairy, another Jacobite. She died in 1758.

Grant, Alex., of Netherclunie, Banffshire.

A prisoner in the New Gaol, Southwark, in October 1746.

He asked for witnesses from Banffshire, who apparently did not arrive, but at his trial it was stated that there was "nothing against him," and he was acquitted 15th December. (*Baga de Secretis.*)

In the List drawn up by the Supervisor of Excise in Banffshire in May and June 1746, Alexander of Netherclunie is mentioned, and against him is written "No evidence." It seems curious that after this he should have been taken to London.

Grant, Peter, the last survivor of those who fought at Culloden.

He was born in 1714 at Dubrach, a small farm in Braemar, and late in life came to be known as "Old Dubrach."

He fought as a sergeant-major at Culloden and was taken prisoner. He was sent to Carlisle for trial, escaped and reached Braemar on foot. It is reported that he practised the trade of a tailor. In the winter of 1821 he received an allowance of a guinea a week from George IV. One report states that he was sent for to be interviewed by the King, but as Peter Grant was then 107 years old, this seems doubtful! The same report states that at this interview he wore the same clothes as when he fought at Culloden; if this be true the garments were then 75 years old! He did not enjoy his pension long,[1] for he died on 11th February 1824 and was buried in the cemetery of Castleton of Braemar, a tombstone being erected with the following inscription:—"To the memory of Peter Grant, sometime farmer in Dubrach, where he was born in 1714, died at Auchindryne, aged 110."[2] The "Scots Magazine," for March 1824, says "his funeral, which took place on Saturday week was attended by upwards of 300 people, who came from all quarters of the surrounding country, to the extent of many miles, to pay their last tribute of respect to the departed hero. In the true Highland style, three pipers were stationed at the head of the coffin, playing the favourite tune of the period of Culloden, 'Wha wouldna fecht for Charlie,' while the company present were not unmindful of their wonted portion of mountain dew, finishing upwards of an anchor of whisky (4 gallons) before proceeding to the place of interment."

In Jervise's "Burial Grounds" the story is told that at the battle of Culloden Peter Grant was annoyed at not being allowed to come to close quarters with the enemy, and cried to his officer, "Oh let's throw awa' thae fushinless things o' guns, and we can get doon upo' the smatchets[3] wi' oor swords."

[1]The pension was, however, continued to his daughter, Annie, until her death in 1860.

[2]And his wife, Mary Cumming, who died 1811. She was 32 years his junior.

[3]Small insignificant creatures.

Grant, William, of Blairfindy.

Appears in Lord Rosebery's List, but under the return from the Elgin district. There is no information about him, save that he "carried arms" in Prince Charles' army and after Culloden "submitted to the King's mercy." In June 1746 he is described as being "at home," so he was not considered a person to be dealt with severely, although his house was burnt by Cumberland's troops. His will occurs in the Commissariot Record of Moray under date 3rd December 1762. Two of his sons were also out.

Grant, John, son to Blairfindy.

"A Lieutenant in the Jacobite Army but deserted."

Grant, David, son to Blairfindy.

"An officer" who returned to Blairfindy with his father.

Also these two, who were probably relations.

Grant, Alexander, Logan of Blairfindy.

"Lieutenant in said army, at home."

Grant, James, Logan of Blairfindy.

"Ensign in said Rebel army, submitted himself."

There is a tradition that James Grant afterwards went to Canada.

Gunn, John, Servant at Stoneywood.

Does not appear in any List of Rebels. He accompanied James Moir of Stoneywood when the latter went "out," was with him during the whole Rising and shared his dangers when in hiding. He must have been at least of middle age in 1745, as he had been servant to James Moir's father (James, 3rd laird of Stoneywood) and accompanied the latter when he went "out" in 1715.

Gunn is described as a person of immense size, who had married a gipsy, and he and his wife acted as messengers between James Moir and his wife when the former was in concealment in Buchan.

Hacket, Charles, Senior.

In the List of Rebels he is described as "Farmer, Drachlamiln, Aberdeen. A violent Jacobite and aided and assisted the Rebels." At the time of drawing up the list it was not known where he was, so he probably went into hiding after Culloden and did not emerge until the Act of Indemnity made matters safe for him. His farm was at Drachlaw Mill, on the banks of the Deveron. He had three sons engaged in the Rising — Charles, mentioned below, Alexander and James.

Hacket, Charles, Junior.

Is described in Lord Rosebery's List as "Writer's servant" and as "A recruiting officer and acted as Collector of the Cess for the Rebells. Well known in Aberdeen." He was the son of Charles Hacket, farmer, Drachlaw Mill, Banffshire, who was also "out" in the '45, accompanied by two other sons, Alexander and James. The Rev. John Bisset writes in his Diary, under date 3rd February 1746:—"Aberdeen. This day, the drum went, warning all yet deficient in paying their Cess, in the name of Lord Lewis Gordon, to repair with payment to the quarters of one Hacket, impowered to gather it up under pain of military execution." The Town Collector, Mr. Alexander Dirom, being old, excused himself but recommended his clerk, Charles Hacket, for the business. Hacket collected the Cess with great zeal, which afterwards got him into trouble. After the battle of Culloden, he skulked about the country, his hiding place for a while being, it is said, at the further side of the meal girnal belonging to a Garioch laird. In those days Charles Hacket, to use his own phrase, "got familiar with sleepin' in his beets."[1] His doings during the next few years are lost in obscurity, but later on he married Helen Smith, daughter and heiress of Patrick Smith of Inveramsay (of a well-known Jacobite family), and settled down as life-renter of the property, living in the house of Poolwall, where, bye and bye, he became known as a zealous and successful agriculturist. He

[1] Boots.

had always a portrait of Prince Charles over the fireplace, which he would gaze on and apostrophise, not always with perfect placidity, when he thought of his own sufferings as a Royalist. Yet, being an ardent Episcopalian and church-goer, he would, whenever the prayer for the reigning sovereign was offered up, emit, in place of the orthodox Amen, an audible groan. He died in 1809 aged 85.

Hacket, Alexander.

Though he appears in Lord Rosebery's List there is no account of his doings, save that he lived at Drachlaw Mill. He was probably employed on his father's farm and may have returned safely to work there, after the troubles were over.

Hacket, James.

Is described as "a Farmer's son, Drachlamiln. A private man. Lurking." He was probably the eldest son of Charles Hacket, farmer, Drachlaw Mill, Deveronside, and joined the Jacobite army with his father Charles, and his younger brothers Alexander and Charles. Except for the fact that he was in hiding after Culloden, nothing more is known of him, but there was a "Lieutenant J. Halket" among the Scots officers who were pensioners on the bounty of the King of France, and was in Paris in 1748, who *may* have been the above James. (French Foreign Office Papers.)

Hamilton, John, of Sandstown or Sandiestown, near Huntly (now known as Huntly Lodge).

He was factor to the Duke of Gordon on the Strathbogie part of the latter's estate. Hamilton joined the Rising very early, and would not serve under Gordon of Glenbucket, but was a great favourite with Lord Lewis Gordon.

He raised a body of a hundred men and mounted them, and it is said that he was promised the command of a troop of horse, to be called the Scots Greys. With his own small body of men, he rode to Inverurie, where he forced the Magistrates to attend the reading of the

Prince's manifesto, and did the same at Aberdeen on 25th September 1745. He was with the army throughout the campaign and accompanied it into England, where, after the taking of Carlisle, he was made Governor of that place.

Subsequent to the retreat from Derby, when the small Jacobite garrison was left in Carlisle, Hamilton remained in charge of the Castle, and the unfortunate Englishman, Townley, being in command of the town, constant friction occurred. The responsibility for the surrender to Cumberland on 30th December 1745 has always been held to lie chiefly with Hamilton.

John Vere,[1] an Irishman, who was captured by the Jacobites at a place called "Tocher near Carlisle" (P.R.O.), was imprisoned in the Castle. According to his own account, when Hamilton and the other leaders decided to capitulate, Vere was forced by threats to write a letter to "Colonel Abercrombie,[2] who was known to Hamilton and to the other three Captains, being his neighbours in Scotland," to ask what terms would be granted by Cumberland. The names of the other three are not given by Vere, but George Abernethy, Alexander Leith of Collithie and Robert Forbes, all being captains in the garrison, certainly lived near him (Hamilton) in Scotland.[3] In consequence of having written this letter, Vere was, after the capitulation of Carlisle, kept in prison there, and he wrote to Cumberland to beg that an order might be given for his release, since he only wrote the letter on compulsion, adding, "I was for eighteen days, once every day, threatened to be put to death, which was not very agreable to me." He also adds a graphic description of his examination before "the young Pretender," prior to the march to Derby. It is known that, contrary to the advice of his Council, Charles spared the life of this spy,[4] who lived to give evidence

[1]Called *Weir* by the Scots, and so appearing in the works of Andrew Lang and W. B. Blaikie.

[2]M.P. for Banffshire, afterwards commanded at Ticonderoga.

[3]Forbes, at his trial, stated that *he* had advised surrender.

[4]Lord George Murray says he was taken near Congleton; he was probably brought before Lord George at that place

and be the cause of the death of numbers of good Scots officers.

That John Vere himself was precious to some one is shown by a letter to Cumberland from Roger Vere, his son, writing from Carrickfergus, for news of him. "If he be dead, there are yet two brothers of us who will either die or revenge his fall on the villians" (i.e., the Jacobites). (P.R.O.)

The officers taken at Carlisle were all carried to London and lodged in Newgate (from which Townley all but escaped by sawing through his fetters). During the remainder of the campaign, the three leaders, Hamilton of the Scots, Townley of the English and Geohagan of the French contingent (who was only kept under surveillance), had nothing to do but to abuse one another in their confinement, and Hamilton attempted to justify himself to the world by writing to his cousin, a priest. (It was said, by one Government informer, that John himself had been brought up as a Jesuit at St. Omer.)

John Hamilton to Mr. James Hamilton from Newgate, London. "3rd April 1746.

Reverent and Dear Sir,

Ever since coming to this miserable place I extremely longed for the pleasure of seeing you. But as self-preservation is absolutely necessary and commendable, I cannot expect that favoure in the present situation. Being fully apprized of what has been underhand spoke of me and in a more villainous and treacherous manner by Messrs. Gehagahan and Towly behind my back, whereby I'm deprived of an opportunity of vindicating and clearing myself and of using them as their villainous practice deserves, have been forced to make out and Extract ane faithful state of the Garreson Defence and Surrender of Carlisle in such manner as I'm capable of, tho' Destitute of Good Language and propare stile for such a work, which you have, inclosed. Most earnestly entreating you to be at the trouble of putting or causing putt them in such good languages and stile as is propare for this part of the world and lett two clear copies be made out of it (when reduced to Good Language and order)

One of which please send to me. The other you'le keep to be shown to all of your religion, to our Chieff and all others of Distintuine who are well-wishers, that a timeous stope may be putt to their villanous underhand practices, my reputation vindicated (till I can doe it in a proper manner) and that the world may know what kind of men those are. For I dare them and all the officers was in that Garrison with me to make appear False one such Fact therein narrated, so that getting it done in the best manner and made known in the proper way to all well-wishers will most singularly oblige.

Reverend and dear sir, Your affectionate Cousine and most obliged and obedient servant

JOHN HAMILTON."[1] (P.R.O.)

It is curious to compare this letter with Cumberland's to the Duke of Newcastle, written from Carlisle on the 1st of January 1745-6:—

"I came hither yesterday and was astonished when I had seen the strength of the Town and Castle, but especially of the Castle, which if the Rebels had chose to have held out, must have cost us some blood and much time and which renders the delivery of it to them all the more infamous, as well as more criminal.

I set out Post for London tomorrow morning.

I am, your affectionate friend,

WILLIAM."

The Duke of Richmond, who was with the King's army before Carlisle, was also of opinion that the siege would be tedious, as "scaling would cost us 200 of our best Grenadiers, which is not worth while for 300 such wretches, battering would be long, trenches impossible and starving very slow." He concludes his letter with "They have just hung out the white flag," obviously to everyone's surprise.[2] (Add. MSS., British Museum.)

[1]The report is, unfortunately, not extant.

[2]The Jacobites, however, did hold out for 10 days—while the Cumberland Militia had insisted on a capitulation the *day after* the Duke of Perth's battery came into action, 13th November 1745.

In the "Trials of the Rebels" it is stated in preliminary that:—

"John Hamilton was brought to Newgate with the rest of the Manchester Rebels, and confined in the Press-yard, until he was removed to Southwark. He always behaved like a gentleman, but went meanly dressed and kept retired in his chamber. He was quiet, inoffensive and sparing of speech. The long confinement in Newgate and the New Gaol of the 2 Governors could never reconcile one to the other, for the deceased Mr. Townley frequently used to say that Mr. Hamilton was a traitor on both sides, and as such he ought to be despised by both parties and indeed none, or at least very few, of the Rebel officers in the Press-yard conversed with him. This added to his natural melancholy temper made his life a great burden to him, but when he went over to the New Gaol at Southwark some of his country men would vouchsafe to play a game of Draughts with him."

At his trial at Southwark on 22nd October 1746, Hamilton pleaded guilty to having "been in rebellion" and threw himself on the King's mercy; he had previously demanded the attendance of witnesses from Scotland to prove extenuating circumstances:—

"On the 25th day of July, 1746 Thomas Forbes, in the parish of St. Martin in the fields in London, an agent frequently employed by the Jacobites, made oath that Alexander Leith and John Gordon, the evidences required by John Hamilton, are now upon the road on horseback, coming up to London with the other witnesses, and the Deponent further saith that he left the said witnesses, progressing on their journey to London at Sands Town (the Home of Hamilton) upon the 16th day of July last." (*Baga de Secretis*. P.R.O.)

Hamilton was found guilty and sentenced on 15th November 1746 to be executed at Kennington Common on "the Friday sen'night following," i.e., 28th November, which sentence was duly carried out.

"He was taken from the prison, where he had been lodged on the Master's side in the New Gaol, on a sledge with Sir John Wedderburn. They were drawn to the

place of execution, guarded by a party of horse and foot, and arrived at the Fatal Tree about 40 minutes after twelve at noon. They both declared they did not fear death; the Executioner pulling the caps over their eyes, the waggon was drawn away as they were calling upon the Almighty to receive their souls. No clergyman attended at the Gallows. Their bodies were delivered to their friends to be buried, two days after the execution."—("Trials of the Rebels.")

Hamilton's head was one of those sent to be set up on the Gates of Carlisle "as a warning to Traitors," the others being those of Thomas Cappoch, called the "rebel" bishop of Carlisle, i.e., a non-juror, James Bradshaw,[1] the only English Jacobite who had been with the Prince in Scotland, and John Berwick.

A curious note is preserved from the Town Clerk of Carlisle, complaining that the four heads promised him "had not yet come to hand," but they were eventually placed as ordered. (P.R.O.)

The proving of John Hamilton's will is noted in the Commissariot Records of Moray, under date 28th May 1747, and in the Forfeited Estate Papers, Janet Mitchell, his widow, is said "to have received the life rent of 6000 merks from Whitsunday 1746, also the life rent of the half of a heritable bond for 3600 merks. John Hamilton had no land-estate, but a very considerable personal one."

He was over sixty years of age in 1745.

Hay, Adam, of Asleid, called Asslid in Rosebery's List.

"A Volunteer, was at the battle of Culloden and there made prisoner."

In his own evidence, at his trial, he stated that "he was taken from his Mother's house, in Aberdeenshire, in September 1745, by seven Highlanders, escaped in the night and was taken again. Tried to escape a second

[1]Bradshaw was executed on the same day as Hamilton, and his dying speech is extant, wherein he states that "it is the duty of every man to live as long as he can," and, therefore, had put forward a defence, which, however, was set aside. This defence was a plea of insanity, ingeniously founded upon his sleep-walking propensities!

time in women's clothes and was retaken. He was a volunteer in Pitsligo's Regiment" (and afterwards in Stoneywood's, where he seems to have had some kind of command over his own recruits).

"He marched with them from Coupar in Angus in September 1745 to Edinburgh, and from thence to Carlisle and Derby and back again to Scotland, where he left that regiment and went home and raised 13 or 14 men from his own neighbourhood with which he afterwards joined Stoneywood's Regiment at Fochabers. Marched with them to Elgin and was with them at Culloden Moor." (The Supervisor of Excise of the Old Meldrum district, whose list is quoted by Lord Rosebery, erroneously ascribes these recruits to Adam Hay of Cairnbanno, who, as will be seen, was only four days with the army in Inverness.)

As evidence against young Asleid appeared James Donaldson, who "lived with Hay of Rannes, a rebel, was with him in England and will depone that Adam Hay, the prisoner, acted and bore part in the Rebel army there."

"James Smart, aged 30, servant to Adam Hay, will depone against him that he first served in the rebel army in the Horse and was in England with them, that he was afterwards in Lord Lewis Gordon's Regiment." (This appears to be a mistake for Stoneywood's, or, as a volunteer, he may have been attached to various regiments.) His name also occurs on a rough list of persons proposed to be excepted in the Act of Indemnity (though he was not eventually included). He was there spoken of as "reported to have a small estate in the shire of Aberdeen. Value £100 per annum."

Adam Hay was tried at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, convicted 17th December and sentenced on 20th December, but the jury strongly recommended him to mercy on account of his youth. One curious fact is that he himself states that "some of his witnesses were mistaken in the dates they gave as to the times when he was at home or in the field, and he would not have called them if he had known what they would swear." These were, perhaps, "Robert Galloway and John Esslemont both of

New Deer, farmers," whom he stated on oath, at St. Margaret's Hill, on 8th November 1746, to be very material witnesses," and they were accordingly sent for. (*Baga de Secretis.*)

On 13th February 1747, a reprieve was granted and his friends and relations in Aberdeenshire then busied themselves on his behalf, while the prisoner himself petitioned to have his irons taken off, as he suffered much from the confinement in the hot sultry weather. The date of this request is 6th August 1747, but he was to remain in prison until the *following* summer.

"William Johnston, Minister of Montwhiter (Monquhitter) presented a petition on behalf of Adam Hay, now under sentence of death for high treason, to Sir William Lee and the Judges, representing That he is the grandson of the Rev. Mr. Adam Hay, late Minister of Mont-whiter, that he had the misfortune to lose his father (Andrew Hay) in his infancy, but that this loss was in some measure supplied by the care of his Mother. He expressed his aversion to the late wicked and unnatural rebellion and consulted with his friends how he might lay out a little money in the purchase of a Commission to serve King George, but he was hurried away by the rebels to the inexpressible grief of his Mother, his uncles and nearest relations. He twice attempted to escape from the rebels and was imprisoned for so doing. He protected Mr. Taylor, minister of New Deer, from their fury—he is of the age of 20 years and begs for mercy as recommended to it by the Jury."

Another petition, in even more flowery language, is addressed to Cumberland by the ministers of the Presbytery of Turriff.

A third petition from the ministers of the Presbytery of Deer, describes him as " a boy of good character, but remarkable for weakness of mind."

Mr. Sharpe, the Solicitor to the Treasury, who attended all the trials of the Scots in Carlisle and some of those in London, even interested himself on Adam Hay's behalf, and wrote to the Duke of Newcastle that this was a case in which the Royal clemency might fitly be exercised.

Mr. Sharpe further includes him in his list of "those in the New Gaol under sentence of death who appear to be really Gentlemen. He has an estate of about £80 sterling, subject to the jointures of his Mother and Grandmother, who are both living and portions to his two sisters. His father who was a merchant being long since dead. He was bred up to the Law as a writer at Edinburgh, and is now about 21 years of age. He is but of small capacity, but in other respects very well spoken of, as modest and well-behaved a young gentleman as any of the prisoners."

In the Forfeited Estate Papers, there is a "Claim and protest by James Hay, W.S., uncle, for himself and as procurator for Anna Forbes, relict of Adam Hay, minister of Monquhitter, grandmother to Adam Hay, late of Asleid, convict, also for Christian Cummine, Lady Asleid, mother of the said Adam Hay," against the estate of Asleid having been forfeited, as under certain conditions it was to fall to the said James Hay and not to his nephew, Adam. James maintained that the estate had never been the property of Adam, and, therefore, could not be forfeited. The Barons of the Exchequer, Commissioners for the forfeited estates, however, decided otherwise.

On the 28th July 1748 Adam Hay received a pardon upon condition of banishment for life, and nothing more is known of him.

Hay, Adam, of Cairnbanno, New Deer.

"A volunteer in Stonywood's regiment, taken at Inverness, whence he was carried to London, lodged in the New Gaol, Southwark where he was brought to trial on November 8, 1746. He was born in the county of Aberdeen and was not, in any shape, engaged in the rebellion till about 4 days before the battle of Culloden, when, he saith, Lord Pitsligo sent for him from his Mother's house in Aberdeenshire and upon his going to his Lordship between Banff and his Lordship's own house, Lord Pitsligo detained him and would not let him go. That he stayed with Lord Pitsligo's people till he went to Inverness the day of the battle, where he was

taken prisoner at Castlehill. He never had any Commission, nor received any pay, nor ever carried arms in the Rebel army." (Report of trial, P.R.O.)

"In common with Alexander Grant, of Glengarry's Regiment, and George Law, Chaplain to Stoneywoods, Adam Hay made an affidavit that he had material witnesses in Scotland, about five hundred miles distant, and prayed that his trial might be put off, which was accordingly done, and appointed for the 15 of December next." He was then acquitted.

In a list of "some persons of distinction who will escape punishment if there is not a second bill of attainder," drawn up some time during the year 1746, his name occurs but against it is written "Nothing." He having been unanimously acquitted, no further proceedings were taken.

In Lord Rosebery's List, this Adam Hay is confused with Adam Hay of Asleid, and the men levied by the latter are credited to Hay of Cairnbanno.

Mr. John Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury (who was also friendly to Hay of Asleid), notes that a brother of Adam Hay of Cairnbanno was a friend of his own, but Hay being acquitted on the evidence, no petition nor interest was required.

Hay, Alexander, Aswanley, Banff.

In Rosebery's List he is described as "Gentleman, Volunteer, Lurking."

Late in the year 1746 Alexander Hay was apprehended, taken to London and tried at St. Margaret's Hill, 17th December 1746. Witnesses proved "that the prisoner voluntarily joined the rebels, and entered as a private man in Stoneywoods Regiment; then got a discharge from that Regiment to enter as a Volunteer in Lord Pitsligo's troop, which he did, and was present at Culloden with the troop. The jury brought him in guilty, but recommended him to mercy. In spite of this, however, he was on 20th December sentenced to death." ("Trials of the Rebels.") The value of his estate was given as £50 per annum.

Hay, Andrew, younger, of Rannes.

Born in 1713, was the eldest son of Charles Hay of Rannes, who married Helen, only child of Dr. Andrew Fraser of Inverness. On 10th July 1733, Andrew Hay took sasine of the Estate of Rannes on a Crown Charter, which reserved the life-rents of his father Charles and his mother Helen Fraser. He attended a county meeting on 1st June 1742, and the minutes record that he then took the oath of allegiance to King George. But after Prince Charles had raised the Standard, Andrew Hay decided to join him, taking with him two servants named James Guthrie and James Donaldson; the latter was made prisoner at Inverness. Hay joined the Prince at Holyrood in October 1745, and was appointed a Major of Horse in Lord Pitsligo's regiment. Sir Alexander Macdonald in a letter to Clanranald, his cousin, of 25th January 1746, writes:—"Hay of Rannes, James Gordon of Clashterim, and some other gentlemen have gone to their homes from the Prince, but wither to Reclaim the men of the Duke of Gordon's country who have deserted, I can't tell."

There is no record of Andrew Hay's doings during the campaign, but Pitsligo's regiment was in the van of every fight, and helped to protect the rear during the retreat from Derby. At the triumphant entry of the Highlanders into Manchester during their march south, it was recorded by Samuel Maddocks that the first man to enter the town was "Hay of Rannes, who was very remarkable among them, being 7 foot high."[1] (Andrew's actual height was 7 feet 2 inches, as shown by a contemporary document at Leith Hall.)

He "lurked" for a long time in the neighbourhood of Rannes, where, on at least one occasion, he was very nearly captured. Lord Findlater, writing from Cullen House on 4th November 1747 to the Lord Justice Clerk, says:—"Young Ranas escaped very narrowly from one of the houses that were searched."

As his father Charles was still alive (and although an ardent Jacobite in the '15, had not taken part in the

[1]Add. MSS., British Museum.

'45) no harm was done to the house or property of Kannes, and after Charles' death in 1751, his widow continued the management of the estate on behalf of Andrew, to whom she supplied funds, both during his years of "lurking" and after he went abroad in 1752. He was one of those excepted from the Act of Indemnity, but towards the end of 1747 he appears to have been going about the country in a rather venturesome manner—for a proscribed rebel. In an unsigned letter to General Bland (P.R.O.), this passage occurs:—"In the county of Banff, in the Village of Keith, the Informer was in a public house where Colonel Roy Stewart, an attented Rebell, and Hay of Ranus another of the gang was, and Clune McPherson. All these appear publickly at mercats and everywhere and act as proproators of their estates and visite their neighbours openly and stir up the Humours of the people and keep them well in heart by telling them of descents and French invasions, and ye Civil Magistrate takes no notice of it. Most of these things the Informer had from the gentlemen and ministers living upon the place, and that all this was so notoriously known, a proof of it would be easie, and that the common discourse was that the Civil Magistrates did nothing and left all to the Military, of purpose as they thought to throw ane Odium upon the King and say we were under a Military Government, and that it discouraged both the well-affected gentlemen and ministers when they saw the civell Government so remiss and attented Rebells walking about in Triumph." Whether it was in consequence of this report or not is not clear, but in the same year (1747) there was presented a petition from Andrew Hay as follows:—

"To the King's most excellent Majesty. The Humble petition of Andrew Hay, younger of Rannes. Sheweth. That your Petitioner being a young man was unhappily induced in the latter end of October 1745 to join in the late Rebellion and is informed that on this account he is excepted from your Majesties gracious Act of Indemnity. That your Petitioner begs leave with Great Humility to represent that he had not the least accession to any hardships done

to any of your Majesties faithful Subjects, but on the contrary used his Utmost Endeavours to prevent anything of that kind when it was in his power, as many of them can, and the Petitioner is persuaded will, testify when called upon. That your Petitioner has since the month of Aprile 1746 lived in such a manner as not to give the least offence, being determined to throw himself on your Majesties Clemency, that as a young man he might be at Liberty to follow his lawfull Business in his own Country, rather as recurr to and become dependent upon any Foreign Power. That your Petitioner does not preseume to mention these Circumstances as an Aleviation of his guilt, but in order to move your Majesties Compassion, and being most heartily sorry for his offence, he most humbly Submits himself to your Majesties Royal Clemency, and imploring your Royal Mercy promises to live a grateful and Dutifull Subject—and your Petitioner shall always pray etc. ANDREW HAY."

(Some of the pleas scarcely agree with the Informer's statements quoted above.)

In the year 1752 it was considered wiser for Hay to take refuge in France, where he lived for many years among the other exiles, especially James Gordon of Cobairdy and Sir James and Lady Fanny Steuart of Goodtrees. He kept up an active correspondence with his mother for ten years, these letters being preserved at Leith Hall.

In 1762 most of his brother exiles had returned home, and Andrew Hay was repeatedly urged to do the same, which he said he would have done "had my size been more moderate." He was terribly afraid of being recognised and thrown into prison. At length, however, in January 1763 he was induced to run the risk, and safely reached home in May, where his mother was still alive to receive him. He was then fifty, and she must have been nearly eighty.

His brother-in-law, James Gordon of Glasterim, had been whitewashed by the "ignoramus" verdict of the jury in Edinburgh in 1748, and the four Leiths, brothers-in-law to his sister Mary (previously Mrs. Leith), who

had also been out in the Jacobite Rising, had lived down the odium connected with it, in the eyes of the Government.

Andrew Hay had been living undisturbed in Rannes for nine years, when in 1772 Lord Fife applied for a formal pardon for him and James Gordon of Cobairdy. In his letter, Lord Fife states that they had, ever since the Rebellion, behaved so as to merit the favour and protection of Government, living near Lord Fife, and "visiting and being visited by everybody in the country." Lord Suffolk replied that, "in view of the many forms that must be observed before obtaining a formal pardon from the King, if these gentlemen remain unmolested, it would be better not to stir in the matter at all." Lord Fife was not satisfied with this answer and made a further application; for, amongst his correspondence, there is another letter dated 25th January 1773, in which Lord Suffolk writes:—"I am sure your Lordship will do me the justice to believe that I should not have declined compliance with your request, in behalf of Mr. Hay, if there had not been the strongest reasons for wishing to avoid taking any steps of that kind, and particularly as it is so great a distance of time, there is every reason to hope that his Case as well as others, will have been forgotten, and that he may remain in peace and undisturbed. I concluded you would wish to avoid troubling his Majesty, and I hope your Lordship will permit me to say that I am affraid it would bring on other applications of the same kind." This would seem to have ended the matter for the moment, but doubtless Lord Fife, who habitually pursued to its conclusion any course upon which he embarked, continued to press it, as did some other of Andrew Hay's friends. In May 1781, Mrs. Macleod of Macleod wrote to Andrew Hay:—"It gives me the greatest pleasure to see in the News papers that Government had most properly made you perfect master of your own Estate again, which I hope you will long enjoy in health and comfort."

A pardon had actually been granted in the following terms:—

"George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith

and so forth, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that we being moved with compassion of our special grace, certain knowledge and meer motion Have pardoned and released and by these presents for us our heirs and successors Do pardon remit and release Andrew Hay of Rannes in our County of Banff or by whatsoever other name or sirname or addition of name or sirname act place or history the said Andrew Hay may be known deemed called or named or lately was known deemed called or named, all High Treason and all other treason, misprisions of treason ffelonies crimes and offences by him comitted or perpetrated, by himself alone or with any other person or persons whatsoever whomsoever or wheresoever, before the thirtieth day of August One thousand seven hundred and eighty by reason of his having been engaged in the late rebellion in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty five within or without our dominions although the said Andrew Hay be or be not indited committed adjudged outlawed condemned or attainted of the premises or any of them and also all and singular Indictments, Outlawries, Acquisitions, Informations, suits, plaints, exigents, Judgements, Attainders, Convictions, Imprisonments, Executions, Pains of Death and Pains Corporal whatsoever for the same premises or either of them or by reason thereof which we have had now, have or can claim or which we our heirs or successors may in any manner hereafter claim against the said Andrew Hay and so do by these presents give and grant unto him our firm pact thereupon.—IN WITNESS whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent Witness ourselves at Westminster the twenty third day of September in the twentieth year of our reign

By Writ of Privy Seal (YORKE)."

Lord Kinnoull wrote to Andrew Hay at the same time:—

"Dupplin, Nov. 22nd 1780.

Dear Sir, I received yesterday the favour of your most kind letter of the 15th inst. and forwarded your handsome one to the Lord Advocate, who I believe is still at Edinburgh.

I intended this very day to have acquainted you that on Wednesday last and not before, in my way to Dunkeld where I was stormsted till yesterday, I had notice by letter of ye 10th from Mr. Fowler[1] that he had received yr. Pardon, and Mr. Sneyd's Bill discharged, which I enclose. The amount thereof falls short of the sum remitted by you to Mr. Fowler in the sum of £1 10. 6 which I will Pay to any person you shall direct for your use, Mr. Fowler having given me Credit for the same. I send a copy of Mr. John Hay's bill, that you may see wherein the difference consists.

I have wrote this day to a Friend at Edr. to enquire if any gentleman is to return at ye Christ-mas Vacation, whom I can request to bring down the instrument.

Dear Rannes, you overpower with acknowledgements. Be assured that I feel the greatest Pleasure from being able to do any thing that is agreeable to you; and that the Ballance of the amount of ye satisfaction is on my side. I am happy that you are a free Citizen and that I have contributed to restore another worthy Hay to this country: and my Happiness is the greater that you are perfectly free of obligation to any of your great neighbours.

I am ever with sincere regard and esteem Dear Sir,
Your most faithful and most obedient servant,
KINNOULL."[2]

Andrew Hay, however, did not live very long after this, and during the last few years of his life suffered much from rheumatism, probably a result of his experiences in the '45 and his wanderings after Culloden. During his life in France, he frequently complained of ill-health. In June 1789 Lord Fife, writing to William Rose, says that the last time he saw Andrew Hay, the latter mentioned that he had left a trust to Lord Fife which he felt himself bound to perform, and that Hay had added:—"For God's sake hurry Mr. Rose[3]—*for Death is on my Life.*"

[1]Gentleman Gaoler of the Tower.

[2]This letter, as well as the Pardon, is now at Leith Hall.

[3]Who was to draw up the document.

Andrew Hay, died, unmarried, 29th August 1789, aged 76, and was buried in the Rannes Aisle of the old Church of Rathven. The church was demolished in 1794, but the Rannes Aisle remains, containing a large tablet to the memory of several generations of the Hays of Rannes. Andrew Hay, a few months previous to his death, sold the property of Rannes to Lord Findlater, and it now forms part of the Seafield Estates.

Hay, George, of Mountblairy.

Second son of Andrew Hay of Mountblairy, Writer to the Signet (whose father Andrew was second son of James Hay of Rannes, died in 1666). George took part in the Rising of 1745, while his father Andrew, Collector of Cess for Banffshire, was still alive. He was very young at the time, probably under twenty, and must have looked still younger, as he is frequently referred to in lists of prisoners as being "about 15 years of age," that is born in 1730. As he married in 1753 Janet Duff, widow of Sir William Gordon of Park, who was then 25 years old, he was presumably about the same age (born in 1727), and, therefore, 18 in 1745. He is twice mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List as "a Volunteer," and there is no record of his having taken part in any of the engagements of the campaign, nor was he left in the garrison at Carlisle, as were so many of his friends and neighbours. He was, however, taken prisoner (though details of time and place are wanting) and was confined in London, first in gaol and later in the house of Mr. Ward, Messenger.

He had had the luck to be made prisoner *before* the battle of Culloden, when the "rebel" prisoners were treated with a good deal of consideration. On 26th March 1746 Andrew Fletcher, the Lord Justice Clerk, wrote a letter of instruction to Mr. Charles Campbell, a well-known Government agent, who was entrusted with the task of conveying to London 4 prisoners, John Lumsden, George Hay, Patrick Goldie, William Hastie, all surgeon's apprentices, "apprehended for being with the rebels." They were consigned to Mr. Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury, at his house in Southampton

Buildings, Chancery Lane, "who will direct you where these gentlemen under your care are to be lodged. While the prisoners continue civil you are to be exceeding civil to them and let them not want. In case you may fall short by any accident, you are to draw either upon the Lord Justice Clerk or on Mr. Sharp." Apparently the prisoners were allowed to ride. "Let one of your assistants go always before, next the Post-boy, and yourself and the other two assistants behind the prisoners, yourself and assistants always riding the best horses. In case Lumsden or any of the prisoners give you any disturbance, or turn obstreperous, you are to apply to the Magistrates of each place you shall come to for having them secured in proper prisons every night." (P.R.O.)

All the boys were lodged in the house of Mr. Ward, Messenger, whence George Hay eventually made his escape.

Early in 1746 he signed a declaration that he was *not* privy to the escape of William Muskeet from the Messenger's house, but another letter to Mr. Andrew Stone, undated save for the year 1746, shows that there was a further attempted escape in which Hay was concerned. The letter is anonymous, but from another prisoner:—

"Sir, Mr. Ward, the Messenger, informs me you desire I would send you word in writing all the particulars of Mr. Drummond and others attempting to make their escape, which is as follows. On Tuesday the 13th of May, Wm. Hastie communicated to me his desire of making his escape. The method he intended to pursue was to goe out of my chamber window about twelve at night, and for that night was to be succoured at a gentleman's in Craven St., but not knowing the town and fearing he might be taken, he desired me to go with him. I told him I would not offer to make my escape, for I was not yet examined, but if I could gett in again, I would carry him to any part of the Town his friend lived in. On which Mr. Drummond said he would let me in att the same window we went out off. I acquainted Mr. Ward, Sir, with every circumstance that was to happen that

night, on which he kept a strict watch. I told him the first place we should go through when out of the window would be Duke's Court. The evening the escape was to be attempted, Mr. Drummond between 8 and 9 o'clock went out, on what account I know not, I believe unknown to Mr. Ward, for he came to the window facing the churchyard next to the steps, shook hands with Mr. Hastie and me and said 'Good night, ye rebels' as he was going through Duke's Court. Mr. Ward, who was watching for the Events of which I told him, laid hold of him and brought him back, which prevented any further attempt being made that night. But the next being Wed. the 14th day of May, they were absolutely determined to go, viz. Will. Drummond, Willm. Hastie and George Hay.

Mr. Drummond undertook to conduct them safe, so I was this night to do nothing more than fasten the window after them. On Tuesday the 13th, Padlocks were putt on all the windows and doors; on Wed. the 14th Mr. Hay pulled off the staple of his room up two pairs of stairs and threw it down the necessary house. They all three putt up their linnen etc. in their packets and between 11 and 12 that night attempted to make their escape. Mr. Drummond broke open the lock of the window and then all was ready, only they waited until the coast was clear. I did not know whether Mr. Ward had sufficient guard to secure them all, so I made a pretence to go downstairs and desired they would not offer to go till I came up again, least they might get me into a scrape, and accordingly they promised me they would not. I went down, told Mrs. Ward every particular, who immediately sent for Mr. Ward to come in. On hearing him about the house they thought it would be better for to go to bed for an hour or two, which we accordingly did, But soon after we were in bed Mr. Ward came in to our room and found Mr. Hastie thrown down on a bed in order to hide himself, but Mr. Ward made him gett up and go to his own room and, sometime after, going up to fasten his doors, he mist his lock, and under that pretence searched their pockets, where he found all their things ready for going off. Then he came

down to Mr. Drummond and me, searched ours and told us we should certainly go to Newgate in the morning, on which Mr. Drummond threatened him, and spoke several unbecoming words, and there being a knife lay down on the window, I feared there might be some mischief, so I jump'd out of bed and gott Mr. Ward out of the room and then bolted the door. This, sir, is the whole affair.

I am sir yr most obedient humble servant." (P.R.O.)

According to another entry in the State Papers, William Drummond and "another" did go to Newgate for being concerned in this affair; possibly the latter was the writer of the letter.

Undeterred by this failure, George Hay must have made another attempt to escape, and this time successfully, for two of the Record Office lists show against his name "Escaped." The date is unknown, but it must have been subsequent to November 1746, as is shown by the following letter from the Earl of Sutherland to Mr. Andrew Stone:—

"London, 30 November 1746.

Sir,

I must beg the favour of yo to represent the case of Peter Goldie, George Hay, and William Hastie, three young boys in custody of Mr. Ward, the messenger. They have been confined there eight months and none of them above 16 years of age. As they are losing their education, I hope his Grace will be so good as to dismiss them. Their case is shortly this—they were apprentice boys to two Surgeons and were obliged to follow their masters with the rebell Army. The doing of this will very much oblige Sir

Yr most humble and most obdt servant

SUTHERLAND.

P.S.—If there is anything aggravating in their cases, I would be the last man in Scotland that would ask their liberation."[1]

[1]Add. MSS., British Museum.

William Hastie and Peter Goldie do not occur in Lord Rosebery's List. Since the younger son of the Laird of Newe was apprenticed to a cabinetmaker, there is nothing unusual in Mountblairy's second son learning surgery, but, though it suited his friends to represent him as a person of no importance, yet, after his escape, in the year 1747, his name occurs twice in lists of "Those rebels omitted in the first bill of Attainder, and left out also of those excepted from the General Indemnity, but whose names were transmitted by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland to the Ministry for further consideration."

After his escape, George Hay seems to have lived for some years abroad, as he is mentioned in the letters of other exiles in France and Holland, including those of his relative Andrew Hay of Rannes. In 1751 he was served heir to his father, Andrew, in the estate of Mountblairy, and later he bought the estate of Carnousie, which had belonged to Arthur Gordon, a fellow Jacobite, on which he resided. In 1753, as has been already stated, he married Janet Duff, Lady Gordon, and after her death in 1758, he married again, Miss Peggy Sinclair of Scotscalder, leaving issue. He died peacefully in his own house, in Edinburgh, on 2nd July 1771.

Hay, George, Sailor, Portsoy.

Papers in the Record Office give his brief history, thus:—"George Hay was ship-master at Portsoy in Scotland, but in February 1746 he was reported to have a Lt. Commission from Lord John Drummond, by virtue of which he raised severall recruits in and about Portsoy for the Rebels. Marched about the Town with them with the white cockade in their hatts. On the 26th February went off to some vessels which appeared off Portsoy, mistaking them for French, when he was taken by the Shark, sloop of war."[1]

He was carried to London by Captain Dive on board H.M.S. "Winchester," but escaped on landing. He next appears among "the Officers committed to the New

[1]See page 59.

Gaol, Southwark, 17 June 1746. Geo. Hay, 25, escaped."

In the report of Captain Eyre, Commandant of Tilbury and of the ships moored near Woolwich, to Lord Harrington, it is stated that "Hay escaped the day Captain Dive brought him on shore, though Commodore Smith had given particular orders about having him secured in irons."

This Jacobite never left home until "taken," and was thus never "in the field," nor was he ever actually "in prison," though his experience in coming from the Moray Firth to Tilbury on board ship was probably unpleasant enough. Of his subsequent career nothing is known, save that he escaped to France, and on 23rd April 1747 his name appears in a list of pensioners as "George Hay, capitaine d'un navire, 100 francs." Not a very lordly sum compared to the 4,000 granted to Glenbucket, but neither his services to the cause nor his personal losses had been great.

Hay, Mary, Countess of Erroll.

Was the eldest daughter of John, 12th Earl of Erroll, and his wife, Lady Anne Drummond, only daughter of James, 3rd Earl of Perth. She became *suo-jure* Countess of Erroll on the death of her unmarried brother Charles, 13th Earl of Erroll, in 1717. She married, before August 1722, Alexander Falconer, an advocate, 2nd son of Sir David Falconer of Newton, Lord President of Session; he assumed the surname and designation of Hay of Delgaty and died in July 1745. There were no children of the marriage. At the coronation of George II, Lady Erroll claimed to act by deputy as High Constable of Scotland, which claim was allowed. Shortly after the landing of Prince Charles, she did her utmost to support his cause, as is shown in Lord Rosebery's List, where she is described as living at "Bowence (Bowness), Cruden, Aberdeen. Aided and assisted the Rebels and forced men out into their service." The rent of her estate is given as £3,000. She was certainly instrumental in persuading the following to join the Jacobite army:—

GEORGE FORREST. "Servant to the Countess of Erroll, Bowence, Cruden. Had a commission from Moir of Stoneywood, and recruited 15 men in said Countess' interest for the Rebels. Stayed all the time at her house and joined the Rebel army before the Skirmish of Inverurie."

WILLIAM FORREST. "Ground officer to the said Countess, Gateside, Cruden. Assisted in recruiting for the Rebel Service."

WILLIAM MOIR of Lonmay. "Factor to the Countess of Erroll, Nethermiln, Cruden."[1]

WILLIAM NISBET. "Farmer, Waterside, Slains. Joined the Rebel army at the same time with Lonmay. Declared that he was obliged to take up arms contrary to his inclination, having been threatened by the Countess of Erroll, and by Lonmay with being turned out of his possession. Upon his setting out was furnished by them in a horse and money to support him." Nisbet evidently took his revenge for this treatment, for he is mentioned later as one of the "evidences" as to The Countess of Erroll having "supported the Jacobite cause."

THOMAS STUART. "Gardner to the Countess of Erroll, Gateside, Cruden. Assisted in recruiting men for the Rebell Service and threatened to seize the Excise Officers horse."

JAMES VOLUM. Surgeon, Peterhead.[2]

THOMAS VOLUM. "Surgeon to the Countess of Erroll, Bowence (Bowness), Cruden."[3]

How many other men Lady Erroll persuaded to join the Jacobite army is not known, but she was certainly a useful supporter of the cause in the North-East of Aberdeenshire. It seems strange that apparently no proceedings were taken against her on the suppression of the Rising. After it was finally crushed, she kept up a

[1]See page 363.

[2]See page 413. All these are from Lord Rosebery's List.

[3]See page 413.

correspondence with many of those who had joined it. For this purpose she often employed Jamie Fleeman, the laird of Udny's Fool, whose fidelity and ability to keep a secret had been well tried. As often as was prudent she despatched him to bring news of her old friend, "Mr. Brown," which name Lord Pitsligo used when in concealment at Auchiries, and Jamie Fleeman would hasten off on his errand, astride a walking stick, his favourite help in long journeys. Mary Hay, Countess of Erroll, died, without issue, in the 79th year of her age, 19th August 1758 at Slains Castle, when the family honours devolved on her grand-nephew, James, Lord Boyd,[1] afterwards Hay, the son of the unfortunate Earl of Kilmarnock, who was executed on 18th August 1746 for his share in the Jacobite Rising.[2]

James' younger brother Charles Boyd was also "out" with his father in the '45, but escaped to France after Culloden.

"**Henry, William,** or **Hendry,** aged 14, of Wardmill in the Shire of Aberdeen, came along with his father, Sanders Henry, a private man in the Duke of Perth's Regiment, who left him at Carlisle." (P.R.O.)

Neither father nor son occurs in Rosebery's List, the father probably being among the killed at Falkirk or later.

The boy was left in the Carlisle garrison, and was, doubtless, one of those who went through the miseries of being herded together in the Cathedral, or else one of the 89 "under sentence of death, confined in one room at

[1] A brief note as to the Countess of Erroll occurs in a Memorandum drawn up by Cumberland, early in 1746, while he was in Aberdeen:—"The Countess of Erroll, yearly rent £2,500. N.B.—She is mother-in-law to Lord Kilmarnock, has the whole estate in her possession, has persuaded him into the Rebellion, but has behaved moderately enough since we have been in these parts."—State Papers. (She was, of course, only aunt-in-law to Lord Kilmarnock; it was her sister, Margaret, Countess of Linlithgow, who was his mother-in-law, but the Duke of Cumberland could hardly be expected to have mastered the intricacies of Scottish families.)

[2] James Hay, Lord Erroll, officiated in his turn as High Constable of Scotland at the Coronation of George III, and excited the admiration of Dr. Johnson by his splendid figure.

Carlisle, Oct. 6, 1746." On the 27th of October an anonymous letter from Carlisle complains of the horrors suffered by the prisoners "from the damp, the itch and the vermin."

William Hendry was afterwards removed to Chester Gaol, where there were numbers of other quite little boys, aged from 7 to 14, and some girls, who seem to have accompanied their parents from the North of Scotland. Eventually a certain number were pardoned "on condition of transportation," and the women and children were discharged 13th February 1747.

It is not known in which category William Hendry was included.

Innes, Alexander, of Cowie and Breda, Commissary of Aberdeen.

Was the 2nd son of John Innes, 7th of Edingight, and Jean, daughter of Patrick Duff of Craigston, and was born 12th July 1727. At the time of the Rising he was 18 years old, and, according to family tradition, as preserved by his grandson, the late Colonel Innes of Learney, he was "out in the '45." There is no direct evidence of this, however, and he does not appear in Rosebery's List, but it is exceedingly probable, because his elder brother, John, the young laird of Edingight (then 24 years of age) admittedly was so, and got into trouble with his father on his return home after Culloden. Alexander being under age at the time, his participation in the matter was perhaps hushed up by his father, who refused to become responsible for that of his eldest son, who was over age. In 1741, at the age of 15, Alexander Innes had been apprenticed to Andrew Thomson, advocate, and was admitted a member of the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen, 29th January 1752. He was one of a Committee appointed to organise a body of volunteers at the time of the American War of Independence. From 1776 to 1779 he was President of the Society of Advocates. He was also Baron Baillie of Lickleyhead and Commissary Judge of the Commissariot of Aberdeen. On 20th April 1764 he obtained a Great Seal Charter of the lands of Breda in Alford, and shortly after

this date acquired Cowie in the Mearns. He married, in 1767, Elizabeth, daughter of William Davidson of Midmar Castle. She died at Cowie, 8th July 1795, aged 48. Alexander Innes died in June 1788. At the time of his death he owned Cowie, Leggie and other lands in Kincardineshire, Breda, Aslown and Tillymorgan in Aberdeenshire, and Foresterhill in the parish of St. Machar. He had 2 sons and 8 daughters. The eldest son, John, died in 1832, leaving no heir male, the second son, William of Raemoir and Cowie, born 29th March 1781, married, 19th October 1809, Jane, eldest daughter of Alexander Brebner of Learney, and died 19th June 1872. From him descend the Inneses of Raemoir, Cowie and Learney.

Innes, Alexander, of Clerkseat.

Was the second son of Alexander Innes of Inaltrie and his wife, Isobel Anderson. The History of the Aberdeen Advocates describes him as eldest son of Innes of Inaltrie, but this is impossible, because the son of his brother, George Innes of Parkside, succeeded as 7th Baronet of Coxton, so it is obvious that George was the elder brother. Alexander Innes was born in 1710. He joined the Aberdeen Bar and was apprenticed to James Cattanach in 1731, was appointed Commissary Clerk of Aberdeen on 16th January 1741, and became an Advocate in 1743. From 1740-1743 he was Factor for the Earl of Kintore's Trustees, and early in 1746 was appointed Factor to the Earl himself. It seems curious that a man in that position should have mixed himself up in Jacobite affairs, but that he must have done something of the sort is shown by an entry in the Rev. John Bisset's Diary on 7th April 1746:—"Yesterday Innes, commissary clerk or factor to the Earl of Kintore was brought in, who was delivered into the hands of the Provost, who took his money and his watch, a bad omen as to him." On 8th April the Duke of Cumberland and his army left Aberdeen en route for Culloden, taking Lord Kintore's factor with them, for Bisset writes:—"The above Mr. Innes is carried prisoner with the armie; whether the way of Old Meldrum or Inverurie, I do not yet know."

Apparently Innes accompanied the Hanoverian army to Culloden, and was probably an unwilling spectator of that disaster. He occurs in a list of prisoners at Inverness (on 18th April 1746), carried there by the victorious army. Whatever was the cause of his arrest does not transpire, but he was released very shortly and was able to return to his duties in Aberdeen. He was Treasurer of the Society of Aberdeen Advocates from 1749 to 1755. In 1757 he was made a Guild Burgess of Aberdeen and Hon. Burgess 2nd October 1772. He was Assessor to the Lord Rector of King's College in 1762, and owned the property of Clerkseat. There is much confusion between him and his kinsman, Alexander Innes of Cowie and Breda, who was Commissary of Aberdeen. Alexander Innes, the Commissary Clerk and Factor, married Anna Rose, by whom he had 7 sons and 11 daughters. He died 12th March 1789, having on 18th March 1784 executed a Will, recorded 23rd October 1790, in which he left to his spouse, "a most dutiful wife, an affectionate mother, and prudent manager of household affairs," an annuity of £60 a year.

He was succeeded in Clerkseat by his eldest son, Charles. Another son, Alexander, followed his father as Commissary Clerk of Aberdeen.

Innes, Colonel James.

In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels he is described as "Overseer of the highways, Cullen. Aide-de-Camp to Lord Ogilvie. Threatened the officer of Excise when doing his duty. Prisoner at Aberdeen." He was the third son of Sir Alexander Innes, 1st Baronet of Coxton, Morayshire, and in the family records it is stated that he was a Captain in Queen Anne's army. The date of his birth is not known, but his brother, Sir George Innes, who got into debt and sold Coxton to William Duff of Dipple, died at Perth in the winter of 1715, soon after the battle of Sheriffmuir. James Innes took part in the affair of 1715, and subsequently for many years occupied an important post in the county affairs of Banffshire, having been appointed in 1725 as general overseer of the county roads. He served in that capacity until 1745,

and in the minutes he is sometimes referred to as Captain James Innes and at other times as Colonel. At a meeting of the Commissioners of Supply of Banffshire, held on 20th July 1727, Captain James Innes, general overseer, was allowed a salary of 100 pounds Scots (£8 6s. 8d.) per annum.

In the '45, willingly or unwillingly, he joined Prince Charles, and, probably owing to his experience in Queen Anne's army, he was appointed A.D.C. to Lord Ogilvie. He was a prisoner at Aberdeen in June 1746, and in the official report he is said to be "brother to Cockston," i.e., Sir George Innes, who had died in 1715. This is the colloquial description, *vide* Statute of 1672, where cadets are to state "of what *brother* of the family they are descended." The Colonel was uncle to Sir James Innes,[1] 4th Baronet of Coxton, who was also "out" in the '45. Colonel James was taken to Carlisle and tried there in August 1746, when a bill of indictment was found against him. At his trial he pleaded that he was "near seventy years of age and that 300 men came into Cullen and forced him to go with them," which statement, if true, should have been a powerful argument in his favour. At first he emphatically declared that he was not guilty, but later he retracted and pleaded guilty in the hope, no doubt, of obtaining mercy from the Crown. In this, however, he was disappointed, for on 22nd September he was sentenced to death, in spite of his being recommended to mercy by Lord Findlater, and of two affidavits which were put forward to show that he was forced into rebellion and expressed great unwillingness; but the effect of these was counterbalanced by the marginal note:—"Mr. Webb[2] says he was known to have been an officer in the rebellion of 1715 and before that an officer in the King's Service." On 21st October Colonel James Innes was executed with seven others at Brampton, nine miles north-east of Carlisle. He left a wife, Mary Ramsay (who died 24th September 1747), and a family of daughters to mourn his loss.

[1] See page 316.

[2] Solicitor to the Treasury.

Innes, Sir James, 4th Baronet of Coxton.[1]

Was the second son of Sir George Innes 2nd Baronet of Coxton, and his wife Elizabeth daughter and heiress of John Gordon of Rothiemay. Sir George had two sons, Sir Alexander, 3rd Baronet of Coxton, who died in 1736, and Sir James, born in 1715, and here dealt with, who succeeded his brother. As Sir George had sold the property of Coxton to William Duff of Dipple (father of the 1st Lord Fife) in 1714, there was little save the baronetcy for either brother to inherit when their father died in 1715.

Sir James took part in the '45 and joined Prince Charles' army at Edinburgh. In Lord Rosebery's List he is described as "Weaver, Techmurie, Tyrie, Aberdeen," so, having succeeded to no property he must have gone in for trade to support himself. His sister, Elizabeth, had married William Fraser of Memsie, close to Techmurie, which probably accounts for Sir James having taken up his residence in the neighbourhood. His part in the Rising cannot have been very prominent, and, as he was not excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity,[2] he no doubt was able to return to his inoffensive occupation of weaving. How long he continued at his trade is not known, but he appears later in life to have been the tenant of Achanacy, near Keith, so must have become more affluent. He married Margaret, daughter of James Brodie of Muiresk, and had 3 sons and 4 daughters, of whom (1) James, died at Mayen, 5th August 1781, (2) Sir John, 5th Baronet of Coxton, died in Jamaica 1800, (3) Sir David, 6th Baronet, died without issue in London 1803. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married her cousin, George Innes of Parkside, from whom descended the 7th, 8th and 9th Baronets, and the title is now extinct or dormant. Sir James Innes died at Achanacy, 3rd June 1790, aged 75; his wife predeceased him, having died also at Achanacy in 1786.

[1]Nephew of the preceding.

[2]He was, however, placed on the list drawn up by Lord Albemarle of those who should have been "included in a second bill of Attainder," which was never passed.

Innes, James, of Balnacraig.

Was the second but eldest surviving son of Charles Innes, wadsetter of Drumnagesk, and Claudia Irvine, only daughter and heiress of Captain Robert Irvine, brother of Alexander Irvine of Learney. James' younger brother was the Rev. George Innes, Principal of the Scots College in Paris. His father died in 1746, but previous to that date James had, in 1735, acquired the house of Balnacraig, over which appear the initials of himself and his wife—"J.I. and C.G. 1735." He had married Catherine Gordon, niece of Bishop Geddes, and had 3 sons and 2 daughters, the eldest son Lewis succeeding to Balnacraig. The family of Innes of Balnacraig was one of the most consistently Catholic and Jacobite families in the North-East. Two of James Innes' sons, Alexander and Henry, were subsequently members of the Scots College at Paris. The Rev. Alexander was the only member who remained there throughout the French Revolution; he was imprisoned and sentenced to death, but escaped through the fall of Robespierre occurring on the day appointed for his execution. The Rev. Henry Innes was Prefect of Studies in the Scots College, and a friend of Prince Charles in his later years. James Innes of Balnacraig joined the Jacobite army in 1745, and was an officer in Prince Charles' Lifeguards. His yearly rent amounted to £30 and the condition of his house was "very good." Escaping after Culloden, James Innes "lurked" for some time. In August 1746 a party of Hanoverian soldiers arrived at Balnacraig to search for the laird. The story was often told by Miss Betty Innes, his daughter, who died in 1829, aged 83. James Innes' wife, Catherine Gordon, either saw the red coats approaching or else received warning that they were on their way to the house, for she made great preparations to receive them. She and her servants worked late into the night preparing food whilst the children were asleep. Next morning, which was very hot, the soldiers arrived at the house—a company under a young captain with two junior officers. The captain bade his soldiers halt whilst he himself went forward. In the doorway stood Mrs.

Innes, alone save for her little daughter, Betty, then aged 10. "Madam," he said courteously, "I am come for one James Innes, reported to be one of the disaffected against his Majesty King George. If he is in the house I must see him and if he refuses I must search for him." Mrs. Innes replied that her husband was not at Balnacraig and she did not know where he was, as he had been absent for some time. The captain then called up the two other officers and read the indictment against James Innes, concluding with an order to bring him prisoner to Inverness and to destroy and burn the house, as that of a rebel and traitor to the King's Majesty and Government. He added that his soldiers had come provided with materials to carry out this order. Whilst the soldiers were making their preparations for setting the house alight, the captain said he regretted his task but that he was acting under orders. Mrs. Innes replied that he must do as he was told and that there were only women and children in the house. The captain, who appears to have been none too eager about his unpleasant duty, represented that his men had had a long march in the heat, and were, in consequence, both hungry and thirsty. This was the opportunity Mrs. Innes had looked for. She bade the captain order his men to sit down in the shade whilst she herself entertained him and the other two officers in the house, after they had searched for and failed to find James Innes. There ensued a great and glorious feast. The soldiers ate the good things the housewife had so carefully prepared and drank heartily of the laird's claret and whisky from large jars known as "greybeards." The hungry men indulged to their heart's content; and, when they had finished, had no desire to engage in anything so energetic as burning a house. The officers toasted the lady of Balnacraig and then gave orders to depart. As the men staggered down the road to Aboyne they cheered Mrs. Innes. Betty Innes used to relate that she saw one soldier clap a large whisky jar over his head, and, to the merriment of his companions, fall and roll down the hill with it still in place. And there is a tradition that all this time the laird of Balnacraig was sitting quietly in a hiding place in the hill behind the

house! James Innes was not excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, so after a while he was able to return to Balnacraig, where he died, according to the *Aberdeen Journal,* on 11th February 1780. His wife survived him and died also at Balnacraig on 5th May 1790, in the 85th year of her age.

Innes, John, wright, Aberdeen.

According to Lord Rosebery's List he "acted as Ensign in the Rebel Army during the whole Rebellion." From the confession of John Lawrance, his apprentice, who was taken prisoner in Aberdeen, 4th June 1746, John Innes and his workmen joined the Jacobites under Pitsligo and went from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. It is probable that John Innes served throughout the campaign, as in the List of Rebels he is described as "lurking." Nothing more is known of him.

Innes, John, brother of Lord Kintore's Factor.

A younger son of Alexander Innes of Inaltrie and his wife, Isobel Anderson, and, consequently, a younger brother of George Innes of Parkside, of Alexander of Clerkseat, Commissary-Clerk of Aberdeen and Factor for the Earl of Kintore,[1] and of Captain Peter Innes, R.A. John Innes was born in 1719, and took part in the Jacobite attempt of 1745. He is described as a "Dyster" in Turriff, but no details of his conduct during the Rising are known. He was taken prisoner previous to Culloden, for in John Bisset's Diary, under date 16th April, occurs this entry:—"I hear one Innes, a dyster at Banff for treasonable information was hanged there last week." He was not, however, hanged. It may be that all John Innes did in the '45 was to supply information to the Jacobites, and if that were the case he paid heavily for it. He was probably arrested at Turriff as the Duke's army marched through, and carried along to Banff. There he may have remained in prison for some time, but he was undoubtedly later on sent for trial to London and was kept in prison there. "A testimony to his moral

[1]See page 313.

character" is to be found in the Public Record Office, signed by Alexander Innes of Torryburn, J.P., John Innes, Provost of Banff, Thomas Innes, J.P., and John Innes, J.P. This is dated July 1746. Apparently, however, he was detained for a month or two longer, as there is also a note in the same place from Lord Findlater, from Cheam in Surrey, 27th September 1746, saying that he encloses 3 affidavits in favour of John Innes; but he adds cautiously, "I doe not intend that my doing so shall be interpreted as any attestation from me of the truth of the facts contained in them." John Innes was discharged, and died, without issue, before 1768, because in that year his brother, Captain Peter Innes, died, leaving as his heirs his brothers George of Parkside and Alexander of Clerkseat, who were involved in legal proceedings regarding succession to his property. If John or any child of his had survived, such would have been a party to the litigation over Captain Peter's estate.

Innes, John, younger, of Edingight.

Was the eldest son of John Innes, 7th of Edingight, who married Jean Duff, eldest daughter and one of the 36 children of Patrick Duff of Craigston. John Innes, the younger, was born 21st February 1721. He joined Prince Charles' army as a volunteer, and when he returned after Culloden "his father would not harbour him."

In the List of Rebels occurs the name of James Stevenson, servant to Edingight, who was "active in robbing the county of horses." It may be presumed that he accompanied his master, John Innes, when the latter joined Prince Charles.

John Innes lurked for a time, and when matters quietened down he went home and was possibly reconciled to his father; he succeeded to the estate in 1750, and was served heir 3rd January 1751. He married, in August 1753, Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Lewis Grant of Carron, and had 4 sons, who were made burgesses of Banff whilst still children in 1767,[1] and 5

[1]Raisins being provided for their entertainment instead of the usual wine. "Records of Banff."

daughters. Prior to 1780, John Innes acquired the old house in the Market Place of Banff, called "Castle Panton," and his crest is still over the door. On 17th December 1772, John Innes of Edingight qualified as a Councillor and was Provost of Banff from 1779 to 1782, and again from 1787 to 1790.[1] He died at his house in Banff on 7th June 1790, whilst Provost, and his wife died in the same place 22nd March 1803. He was succeeded in Edingight by his son John.

Irvine, Adam.

Was the son of the Rev. Robert Irvine, minister of Towie, and his second wife Agnes, daughter of Patrick Murray of Blairfindy. Robert Irvine was of the Kingcausie family, being the second son of Alexander, 6th laird of that estate.

Adam Irvine was often during his father's lifetime described as of Brucklay, but it is not clear how he came into possession of it. In November 1701 Mr. Robert Irvine, minister at Towie and Adam Irvine, laird of "Brucklaw," are witnesses to a baptism in the parish church of New Deer. Again, in January 1706, Adam Irvine, junior, of "Brucklaw," is procurator for John Irvine, younger, of Murthill, so either he or his father, Robert, was in possession of Brucklay. In the Macfarlane Collections for the History of the Shire there occurs:—"Bruchlaw Castle in Aberdeenshire was at one time possessed by Irvine, son to the parson of Towie." His father died in 1708, in which year Adam was served heir. His marriage took place in 1710 under peculiar circumstances. It appears that he had fallen in love with Margaret, daughter of Sir John Reid of Barra, but her parents had refused their consent to the marriage. Nothing daunted by this refusal, the young people decided to do without consent. Irvine persuaded an old minister named Donald Mackintosh to come to Bourtie, and provided a couple of witnesses; the girl surreptitiously

[1]It is interesting to note that three prominent citizens of Banff began their careers as Jacobites, Provost Alex. Dirom, Sheriff-Clerk James Duff and Provost John Innes above.

left her home and was married to Adam in a wood close by. She returned to her father's house, but, the marriage being discovered a few days later, she was turned out of her home and fled to her husband. The matter was reported to the Presbytery, who thereupon ordered the couple to make a public declaration of their marriage in the parish church of Bourtie, and after rebuking them, had "the defects of the marriage made up in the way usual in such cases," whatever that may have been. Adam Irvine at the date of his marriage was described as "sometime of Bruchlaw," which looks as if whatever form of ownership of that property he possessed had ceased at that date. Certain it is that William Dingwall (the son of Arthur Dingwall and his wife, Lucretia Irvine) was in possession of Brucklay in 1707.

On the outbreak of the Rising of 1715 a body of gentlemen rode into Aberdeen on 20th September, along with the young Earl Marischal, and proclaimed the Chevalier as James VIII at a house in Castle Street. Amongst these people appears the name of "Adam Irvine of Bruchlaw." Of his behaviour during the '15 nothing is recorded, but the probability is that not being deeply implicated he was not prosecuted, and in 1728 he was Collector of Supply for the Mearns. He was also out in 1745, but again the part he played in the Rising is obscure. In the List of Rebels returned by the Supervisor of Excise at Banff, there appears "Adam Irvine late of Bruckly, Down (Macduff) Banff, Gentleman Volunteer, Lurking." By his wife he had 2 sons, Robert and Kenneth, and 2 daughters, Margaret and Barbara. Where or when Adam Irvine died is not known.

Irvine, Alexander, of Drum is described in the List of Rebels as "of Drum, Drumoack, Aberdeen. Carried arms with the Rebels during the whole Rebellion. Now in the Highlands. Lurking. Rent of Estate—£100.[1] Condition of House—Pretty good."

[1]Cumberland's List gives the value as £200 per annum.

Alexander Irvine was the son of Alexander Irvine of Drum and Isabel Thomson, his wife, daughter of Thomas Thomson of Faichfield, but the date of his birth is not known. His father died in 1744, so he had but recently come into his inheritance when the Jacobite Rising took place. He joined Prince Charles at Edinburgh, accompanying his friend, Lord Pitsligo; was present at Culloden and, escaping after the defeat, was for a time concealed at Drum, in places near it and also in Buchan. On one occasion he narrowly escaped capture at Drum when an officer and some men went there to arrest him. Apparently no surprise was attempted, nor did the party adopt even the usual precautions, for they advanced openly by the principal road, *with drums and fifes playing!* It almost looks as if they wished Alexander Irvine to be forewarned. In any case the laird retreated to a safe hiding place, and, though the house was searched and his sister closely questioned, he was not found. Alexander Irvine was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity, but he escaped forfeiture by the grand jury having twice thrown out bills for treason sent to them and returning an "ignoramus" verdict. This occurred at Edinburgh in October 1748. He was in that year in Paris, as his name occurs in the list of pensioners in the French Foreign Office.

Alexander Irvine married, in 1751, Mary, second daughter of James Ogilvie of Auchiries (she died at Auchiries, 5th April 1796), and by her had 3 sons and 3 daughters. (1) Alexander, his heir, born 1754. (2) Charles, born 1756. (3) James, born 1759. (1) Margaret. (2) Isabel. (3) Rebecca, married George Ogilvie of Auchiries.

His death is thus recorded by the *Aberdeen Journal*:—"9th February 1761. Died of this date, at his seat of Drum, after a tedious illness, Alexander Irvine of Drum, a gentleman universally beloved."

His family is one of the oldest among the landed gentry in Aberdeenshire, and his descendants still possess the estate of Drum.

Law, George, "Nonjurant Minister, Aberdeen, carried arms with the Rebels, was at Stirling siege, and Culloden." (Rosebery.)

He was made prisoner in Elgin the night of the battle of Culloden, taken to London and committed to the New Gaol, Southwark, on 17th June. He was brought up for trial at St. Margaret's Hill on 18th December.

His own account of himself is as follows:—

"Born in the county of Buchan, in the Parish of Crimond, 40 years of age. My ordinary residence was at Aberdeen from which I came to Banff, where a party of the rebel army then was, in quest of my son whom I had heard was with the rebel army, having run away from school to them. I met with my son, who got away. I pursued him to Castle hill (Elgin) where I was taken so ill of a fever that I could not proceed further, and was there taken prisoner the night of the battle of Culloden. This is all the connection I had with the Rebel army."

The above account seems to show some "economy of truth," as witnesses proved that George Law had been "with the army in November 1745 at Dalkeith, and afterwards at Glasgow, Perth and all the other towns, went with the army into England, and at Kendal he preached to the Army and dined with the Pretender that same night. He was minister of a non-juring church in Aberdeen and had preached and prayed before the Rebels there and at Turriff, Fochabers, Glasgow, and other places. He acted as chaplain to the Aberdeenshire squadron of rebels."

He himself says he was chaplain to Stoneywood's regiment, and so described himself to Captain Moore who examined him when captured.

He was also proved to have "ridden out of Aberdeen with Stoneywood's regiment, armed, with a sword by his side, and a white cockade in his hat. His son was with him, also with a small sword and a white cockade."

His defence, therefore, which was that he was "endeavouring to get away from the Rebels when he was

forced back, and they, finding him to be a clergyman, obliged him to go with them to pray for the Pretender as King, threatening to shoot him if he refused," seems singularly weak, but after a trial of five hours the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty," and Lord Chief Justice Willes pronounced his acquittal.

These "trials of the rebels" must have been a wearisome business for all concerned, for that of George Law is noted as having been postponed from October 1746 to 8th November, and again to 16th December, presumably to give the witnesses, for whom he asked, time to arrive. Sentence of acquittal was not finally pronounced until 10th February 1747.

Before his trial George Law seems to have received letters from a reverent brother confined under much more trying circumstances, though politically much more innocent. The Rev. John Taylor, aged 52, Episcopal minister of Thurso, had been invited to go to the Orkneys to minister to the needs of the congregation there, as well as to those of Sir James and Lady Stewart of Burray, and had fallen under suspicion on account of the Jacobite sympathies of these two. He was apprehended in Orkney on 25th May 1746 and taken to London on board the "Pamela," from which he wrote to Mr. George Law on 11th October:—

"Dear Sir,

Master Gordon, younger of Glenbucket desires me to salute you heartily in his name and to return you his acknowledgements for so kindly enquiring about him. I know that he has received no supplies since he was apprehended and cannot be without his straits. Therefore we expect that you'll do your best to obtain for him some relief, and take the bearer, Thomas Johnston's receipt for what you can get remitted to him. I likewise hope you'll not forget to reimburse me as frequently as you can, and if it be possible, write me a few lines Reverent Sir, Yours etc. J. T.

P.S.—I received a guinea from the Bearer when he came last from London, which is the third you have sent me."

It is difficult to understand how a prisoner in Newgate managed to have funds in hand or was able to command the services of a messenger, but George Law must have had powerful friends somewhere. No details of his after life are known, nor even whether he returned to his congregation in Aberdeen.

Law, William, his son. "A schoolboy, carried arms at Culloden, whereabouts not known." (Rosebery.)

This boy was said by his father, at the latter's trial, to be 14 or 15 years of age and to have run away from school and joined the rebel army in Banff. He, the father, "being very uneasy at his son's ill conduct, resolved to go after him and get him away. That as soon as he got to the Rebel Army he enquired for his son, whom he soon found and was endeavouring to get away with him, when he was forced back and compelled by threats to remain with them." The father's intention was that this episode at Banff should be considered as having taken place when the Jacobite army was marching towards Inverness, just before the battle of Culloden, and it may have done so, but it was not by any means the first connection of the Laws, father and son, with the Jacobites.

James Charles,[1] an Aberdeen tailor, of Stoneywood's regiment, who had turned King's evidence, testified "that he had known the prisoner (George Law) for many years and had heard him in February last, preach to a congregation of Rebels and pray for the Pretender, also that he saw him march out of Aberdeen with Stoneywood's regiment, and his son by his side, both with White Cockades and swords. Also that the prisoner's step-son, Thomas Scott,[2] was an Ensign in the same Regiment." As already seen, George Law was acquitted in the face of this seemingly damning evidence, and no proceedings at all were taken against the son.

[1]See page 133.

[2]The step-son's name was really John Scott (q.v.).

Lawrance, John, wright's apprentice, Aberdeen.

Appears in the Aberdeen Burgh Records, under date 4th June 1746. In the presence of Convener Auldjo, one of the Governors of Aberdeen:—

"Compeared John Lawrance, apprentice to John Innes, Wright in Aberdeen, who was this day apprehended by Thomas Suttem, Joseph Shardman, and James Rods of General Fleeming's Regiment, who being examined, acknowledges that in the beginning of October last he went away with his Master from Aberdeen to Edinburgh with the Body of the Rebels commanded by Lord Pitsligo; that at Edinburgh he joined to the Company of Robert Sandilands in the Duke of Perth's regiment; that he went along with the Rebells into England as far as Derbie; that he returned with them back to Scotland; that he was in the Town of Stirling the time of the Battle of Falkirk; that he retraited north with them to Aberdeen thereafter; that he fell sick of a fever in his father's house in Aberdeen, and was not able to goe farther north with them, when they retraited farther north from Aberdeen, but was carried privatly on horseback from Aberdeen, upon the approach of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to the house of Robert Collie in the Parish of Oin, where he continued a full moneth; that ever since he has continued sculking from place to place, and was never with the Rebells since they went last from Aberdeen."

In spite of the above confession, John Lawrance was discharged on 15th July 1747.

Lawrence, John, Mason, Keith.

He appears in Lord Rosebery's List as "Private man, hired out," and at the time of the compilation of the list was described as "lurking."

Mr. Murdoch Lawrance of Aberdeen says that John is presumed to have been the grandfather of Alexander Lawrence, surgeon, R.N., who died 23rd May 1835, aged 43. The surgeon married Helen Finnie, and both are buried in Keith Parish Churchyard.

Lawrence, John, Merchant, Old Deer.

Mr. Murdoch Lawrance says that this man was the eldest son of Robert Lawrence in Auchmachar and his wife, Elspet May. John Lawrence was born at Skillimarno, Old Deer, 25th June 1701. He had a younger brother, George, who was a merchant at Old Deer. According to Lord Rosebery's List, John Lawrence "proclaimed the Pretender at the market cross Old Deer, enlisted some men for his service and joined them himself on their retreat to the Highlands."

He appears to have possessed considerable means, which enabled him to exercise influence for the Stuart cause.

John Lawrence is buried in the Old Deer Parish Churchyard, but there is no memorial to him. There was a John Lawrence of Old Deer, a witness against Adam Hay of Cairnbanno, who may be the same man.

Lawrance, William, Farmer, Lochlip, Rathen.

Does not appear in any Rebel List. He was the eldest son of William Lawrance (1692-1751), farmer, at Craigellie, Lonmay. The younger William was born about 1714. He was a zealous advocate of Episcopacy, and, being an ardent Jacobite, was reputed to have been "out" in the '45. He occupied the farm of Lochlip, Rathen, and married about 1742 Margaret Mitchell, and had issue. William Lawrance died after 19th July 1761. He was the great-great-great-grandfather of Mr. Murdoch Lawrance, who has kindly contributed the above particulars. It is believed that Walter Mitchell (q.v.), the Jacobite, who was transported, was a relation of Margaret Mitchell.

Leith, Alexander, Farmer, Collithie, Parish of Gartly, Aberdeenshire.

His career as a Jacobite is briefly described in Lord Rosebery's List as "went into England with the rebels. Prisoner at Carlisle."

He was a small tenant farmer, and at least fifty years of age. He nowhere rests his defence, as did so many, on

the persuasions of others, but merely on force, exerted by Glenbucket and his Highlanders and on his own good behaviour in 1715! He was one of the three hundred unfortunate Scots left to garrison Carlisle in December 1745, out of whose eighteen officers twelve, as has been seen, came from Banffshire or Aberdeenshire. Alexander Leith was a captain in Glenbucket's regiment.

After being imprisoned for some time in Carlisle, he was taken to London with a number of officers from Carlisle and others subsequently made prisoners, and lodged in Newgate.

At his trial his witnesses, asked for from Aberdeenshire, had not arrived, but force not being proved and information given against him by John Baptiste Froment, a dancing master who had "turned evidence," he with nine others was pronounced guilty and condemned to be hanged on 28th November on Kennington Common.

That Alexander Leith left no stone unturned in his own defence is shown by the following petition, undated (save for the year 1746, which is written on the back by an official hand). It is in the Public Record Office.

"The petition of Alexander Leith, prisoner in the New Gaol, Southwark, sheweth That it was your petitioner's misfortune amongst many other unhappy men to be forced into the late unnatural rebellion by John Gordon of Glenbucket, who, attended by several hundreds of armed Highlanders, came into the country of Strathbogie, where your Petitioner resided, and held a small farm from his Grace the Duke of Gordon.

That your Petitioner to avoid falling into Glenbucket's hands, fled from his own house and continued from home till he had reason to believe Glenbucket had left that part of the country and gone to join the main body of the Rebels, then in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. That your Petitioner having nothing but the produce of his farm to support himself and his family, then returned home to reap his corn which, by absenting himself in order to avoid Glenbucket, was rotting upon the ground.

That while your Petitioner was thus employed in

reaping his corn, he was unexpectedly seized upon and forcibly carried off by a party of the rebels whom Glenbucket had left behind to pick up those whose conduct had been most offensive to him for their duty and loyalty to your Majesty, and your Petitioner was one of the first that became the object of Glenbucket's resentment, as your Petitioner took a great deal of pains to dissuade many of his neighbours from joining in the said Rebellion.

That your Petitioner after being thus forced from his family by the rebels, did, when he was brought by them to Edinburgh endeavour to make his escape, but being discovered was closely confined till they marched into England, where he found it would be in vain to make any further attempt, as well by reason of the guards kept by the Rebels, as for the parties they had left in the County of Strathaven to burn and destroy the houses of any that should make their escape. That as none but those that were engaged in the said rebellion could prove the continuance of the said force and of the restraint under which your Petitioner was, and it being also impossible for your Petitioner to produce upon his Tryal any of them, your Petitioner was convicted and must now humbly implore your Majesty's mercy to prolong a life, no part of which was ever employed in any act of offence against your most Sacred Majesty, or your most illustrious family, till the fatal period that Glenbucket's force (in resentment of your Petitioner's successful endeavours to restrain many of his neighbours from joining in the rebellion) dragged your Petitioner (now near the age of three score years) from his family and farm, into all the misfortunes which he has since felt and subjected him to the dreadful punishment which nothing but your Majesty's unbounded compassion can prevent his undergoing.

That when the rebellion against your Majesty's royal father broke out in the year 1715, Your Petitioner kept to his allegiance and duty and as these were his principles whilst in the vigour and strength of youth he hopes your Majesty will believe that age has not increased his affection to Rebellion or to Arms.

May it therefore please your Majesty graciously to spare your Petitioner's life, and your Petitioner will ever pray etc.

ALEX. LEITH."

A further testimony to the same effect was signed and sealed at Braco House on 25th August 1746 by John Innes of Edingight, William Gordon of Shellagreen, and Thomas Innes of Muiryfold, J.P.s, who add "that Alexander Leith used all possible means to shun joining the said Glenbucket, and fled his own house as long as there was any part to fly to in that county and shewed all manner of reluctance to join the said John Gordon of Glenbucket."

No mercy was, however, shown to Leith, and the only other information relating to him, previous to his execution, is gathered from an interesting bundle of papers taken after his death from his brother, the Rev. Robert Leith (q.v.), who was apprehended on 16th November 1747 on board the ship "St. Quentin," and kept in custody for a short time before being released. Among these papers are to be found several letters, one addressed to Alexander Leith in prison, of date 25th June 1746, saying:—"We have applied our friend Glenkindie to write Mr. William Grant, his lady, who is his Majesty's advocate for Scotland." There is no signature. The second is from Alexander himself to "Mr. Renaie," who appears in the trials of other Aberdeenshire prisoners as Rayny, Rennie or Rainy. Leith desires that "Three guineas of my money left in the hands of Mr. Errington, may be used in paying the expenses of my witnesses to get home. You have heard what is to be my fate."

The third letter is dated 27th November 1746, and begins:—"(I have sent this by Mistress Ramsay, send me word if you gett it.)

Dear Brother,

I have sent you out five guineas enclosed in this letter which I expect you will send home to the care of my uncle Comrie to be settled for the use of my son John Leith, but if you have use for it keep it yourself for there

is a good Leadie Mistress Aires[1] has promised to burie me. God be with you, dear brother. I hope if it be in your power you will doe all the service you can to my son John Leith because I have no more, but pray for me, Dr. Brother, and caws me to be recommended to all the prayers of our profession you think proper. God be with you, Dr Brother

Your affectionate Brother,

ALEXR. LEITH."

The fourth letter is of the same date, doubtless sent by another hand in case the first miscarried.

"New Gaol, Southwark,

November 27, 1746.

Dr Brother,

I am to suffer upon the 28th of this month. There is one thing I am guiltie of that I cannot dy without letting it be knowen, which is, that child that Elizabeth Anderson put upon John Chisholm, by my advice, I believe is mine. I earnest do repent for it, and I hope in the mercies of God he will pardone me for it. I beagge of you let it be knowen to every one and doe not conceall it. God be with you all. I hope our meeting will be in a beater place than here. My service to all friends Dr Brother,

Your affectionate brother,

ALEXR. LEITH.

Mind your promise to John Leith my sone."

With these letters, and numerous other papers, are three copies of the "Dying Speech of Alexander Leith, executed at Kennington Common 28th November 1746."

(In this document he throws away all pretence of having embraced the Jacobite cause unwillingly.)

"I shall so far condescend to the general curiosity of mankind, who expect a few sentences from one in my situation, as to give the followings. From Scotland I had my birth, born to represent a family who has been

[1]See page 159.

a sufferer in this cause; and always ready to distinguish itself in maintaining the hereditary right of the illustrious House of Stuart.

Upon the first report of the presence of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, his landing, I did not, nor ever could believe it until I heard he was at Perth, but I no sooner knew that he was there, than I gott myself in readiness to join, although his army was very small, I thought it my indispensable duty to risque, if I had them, ten thousand lives where he ventured his royal person. I joined him among the first from Aberdeenshire, and when I arrived at Edinburgh was honoured with a Commission and commanded a company in Glenbucket's Regiment, and to the utmost of my power faithfully discharged the trust reposed in me, which is sufficiently known to those who were witnesses to my conduct.

I die an unworthy member of the holy Catholic Church of Rome, in hopes of enjoying eternal happiness in and through the merits and mediation of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer, Christ Jesus.

I die a sacrifice to the revenge of the Usurper the Elector of Hanover, and to glutt the appetit of the perfidious the pretended Duke of Cumberland, who contrary to all law, civil or military, notwithstanding the articles of capitulation, has murdered me and pretending a shew of law for it, has added a double guilt by the severe instruction given to that pretended court before which I was brought. Nothing here gives me uneasiness for leaving this momentary life but my Prince's Interprize not being accomplished, but I hope in God that He will out of His infinite goodness soon restore his royal father our sovereign lord King James the eight. To speak of my dear prince, of the uncommon qualities that are united in his amiable person, would require a judgement far superior to mine, he seems to be cut out by Providence to regain what his forefathers have lost, by struggling with difficulties.

I forgive all and every man that has wrong'd me in any way, even the Elector of Hanover and his savage son, the pretended Duke of Cumberland. I pray God

of his infinite mercy he forgive me all my sins, and believe in and through the merits of Jesus Christ. I likewise forgive those who were instrumental in delivering up Carlisle and who private conspired with the spy M. Wyre[1] [*sic*] in doing so, to the loss of many brave men's lives. God forgive them, I do. I now offer my sincere prayers for speedy restoration of the royal race of Stuarts by King James the eight's accession to the throne, and the illustrious prince being thereby vested in his just title of Charles, Prince of Wales. Into Thy Hands, oh Lord, I deliver my soul, Lord Jesus receive my spirit, Amen."

(As this dying speech exists in three copies among the papers of his brother, the Rev. Robert Leith, who was in London at the time of Alexander's execution, it is probable that it was not delivered nor printed.)

There were two other Leith brothers besides Alexander and Robert, namely, Adam and George. A letter from the latter to Alexander was accidentally discovered at the Record Office, as related under Robert Forbes of Corse.

"To Alexander Leith Esqr at Edinburgh.

Oct. 20 1745.

Dr Br

I was heartily glade to her of you good health by yours to Adam of date Oct 12. I earnestly entreat you take care of your health and especislly that you get not cold in the night time which will do you more prejuidice then cold in the day. I earnestly entreat to hear frequently from you which is all the satisfaction friends can expect from one another at such a distance. I left home some few days ago — your Mother, Adam, and Johnny were well. My compliments to Robert who I hear is with you. He is very unkind who never writes. My compliments to Dorlaithers, Auchergaul and all friends with you. You tell them all their friends are in

[1]Undoubtedly the man known as Weir, i.e., John Vere, so mistakenly spared by the Prince when caught near Carlisle in November 1745. See pages 120 and 289.

good health. Take care of your health Dr Br and let me hear frequently from you. Who ever am

Your Affectionate Br

G. L."

Leith, The Rev. Robert (brother of Alexander), Catholic Priest.

Is not mentioned in any List of Jacobites and apparently took no active part either in the Rising or in the plots connected with it, but he was arrested on "suspicion of complicity" on board the "St. Quentin" 16th November 1747. He was then lodged in the house of a messenger and examined. He said he was "son of a Gentleman of Aberdeenshire, and a priest of the Church of Rome." A large number of papers, in many different languages, were "taken from his trunk" by Captain Ward of the "St. Quentin," and are still preserved in the P.R.O. Among them is a Latin charge to "Robertus Leith" from the Bishop of Nicopolis (he was the brother of Gordon of Glastirem), which formed Leith's credentials for the diocese of Aberdeen.

Several other Latin letters and episcopal benedictions.

Some narratives of escapes of priests and others.

A long account in Italian of quarrels at Ratisbon over some ecclesiastical election.

A letter from Lord Strathmore in the same language.

A letter of introduction for Leith in German.

A pass for himself and another priest named Brockie to come to Scotland.

Some letters from Gordon of Coforrach at Erfurt.

Some account of Lovat's trial, and of how the old man "knelt with so much difficulty, as he had not done it for 5 years."

Finally, a number of letters to and from his brother Alexander, and three copies of the latter's dying speech, already quoted.[1]

Robert Leith was "discharged out of custody" in December 1747.

[1]See page 332.

Leith, Mrs. Anne, who has sometimes been described as the Florence Nightingale of the Rising, presents a great problem.

It has not been possible to discover to what family either she or her husband belonged, though they were certainly of Aberdeenshire, and seem to have been connected with many prominent Jacobites in the north, as well as with Whigs in Inverness.

She writes from Inverness on 2nd August 1746:—"I left Strathbogie and came to this place with ane intention to make no longer stay than to fitt out my son I had in this place for going with me into Aberdeenshire. But being detained two or three weeks, in that time came General Coup with the Army under his command, the beginning of so much confusion in the country that it was impracticable for me to travel, so that I resolved to settle for some time. I then took rooms in a convenient place of the town, putt my boy to school and so composed myself, but that composure I did not long enjoy." We elsewhere learn that her son was called Alexander, but he was obviously too young to have taken any part in the campaign.

She continues:—"My nearest relations, who are some of them the most conspicuous persons in town, and were then my friends, soon became my greatest enemys. They happen all of them to be of the opisit way of thinking."

She was obviously an ardent Jacobite, and curiously enough her "convenient" lodgings were under the same roof as those in which Lord Lovat lived when he was brought a prisoner in Inverness to be under Lord Loudoun's eye. Mrs. Leith says:—"I had the honour to be his Lordship's relation, my grandmother being a daughter of that family, and my sentiments also running in a chanel with his lordship's, no wonder I should be as ready to serve him." She was therefore privy to his escape, which indeed took place through a door into her apartments and thence into the garden, and her connivance was no secret to the authorities. But she adds that, after being confined in her own house for 24 hours, she

was "slightly examined and came off with flying colours, wich was owing to my being nearly interested in some of the leading men in town strickly atached to the Government." "Some months thereafter when the most ameiaable of men (i.e., the Prince) came to this place, I had the good fortune to see a great number of friends, relations and the best acquaintances I had in the several places of my residence wich, together with the hops I had at that time, put me in tope spirits. But ah, how soon the scene was changed." She then describes how on the morning of the battle, "about three of the clock," she actually went to Culloden, accompanied by a hand-maid, Eppy, and carried with her "such succors for some of my friends as strengthened and supported them a little in ther extremity. I hade the pleasor to hear some time after these my friends say that under God this seasonable refreshment contributed much to their coming saffe out of the field." She knew that the Highland army was terribly short of food, but, as she says, "little did I think of the unhappy event being so near at hand when I set out on this adventer."

She speaks of the state of Inverness after the defeat of the Prince's army, when "all the prisons were fil," and how she found friends everywhere, "several pretty gentlemen of my acquaintance, and some my relations, in particular a brother of Castlehills, Colonel Cuthbert of Lord John Drummond's Regiment." (A great many notices are to be found in the Public Record Office concerning Lancelot Cuthbert or Colbert, who was chiefly responsible for the Jacobite victory at Inverurie. He had been born in France and held the French king's commission. He was, therefore, treated as a prisoner of war in Inverness and lodged in the Marshalsea in London, but remained there till early in the following year; the warrant for his pardon and discharge is dated 10th January 1747. George Law, the chaplain, and other prisoners asked for his evidence at their trials.)

Various friends and acquaintances depended entirely upon Mrs. Leith's "poor offers of friendship." "In short," she says, "from the 17th of April until the 20th of July thereafter I never was two hours at a time in

my own house but while I sleept, still going from prison to prison and from one great person to ane other, soliciting favors for the destrest." She seems in this to have been fairly successful, working through Lord Lewis Drummond and the Marquis d'Eguilles, who were prisoners on parole, to use influence with Lord Cathcart, Lord Albemarle and later with Captain Collingwood. She does not seem to have tried any feminine wiles on Cumberland himself.

With the notorious Captain Eyre[1] she had several passages of arms, being on one occasion arrested by him, "attended by some screwed bynots" (bayonets) when on her way to visit and succour her prisoner friends. She was, however, released by General Huske's orders and Captain Eyre was suspended from his office in charge of the prisoners until they were sent south on the 29th of June, when he accompanied them (to their great grief).

Mrs. Leith's narrative, which is immensely long, is printed in "The Lyon in Mourning," and this, with a few letters to her from grateful prisoners and from her to Bishop Forbes in the same work, form the sole source of information about her.

We gather that she was a "private widow-gentlewoman," with 3 young sons, Alexander and two others. That her deceased husband was *not* a naval officer, though she allowed Captain Dunlop and General Blakeney to think he was! That he was a cousin to Gordon of Glenbucket[2] and that she herself was niece to one of the Commissioners of the Navy, who had interested Lady Braco on her behalf and that of her sons. She seems to have had a curious number of friends and relatives on both sides, which makes it the more surprising that it cannot be discovered who she was. It is almost certain that her husband was a younger

[1]Even Captain Stafford Eyre, though he seems to have been a hard man, had his humaner moments, for it was he who represented the case of Lochiel's innocent gardener, John Abernethie, and obtained his release from Tilbury. The letters are in the P.R.O.

[2]She was specially kind to Gordon of Glenbucket's blind son when a prisoner in Inverness, and even lent him money, which it seems was never repaid!

brother of one of the lesser Aberdeenshire Leiths—Overhall, Freefield, Harthill, Bucharne, etc. She seems to have been on very intimate terms with Bishop Forbes, to whom she signs "yours affectionately."

On the 13th January 1749 she wrote to him from Inverness:—"I have been still in this place from the beginning of the troubles, in which I had some share, the effects of which I now severely feel. I have this twenty months been so distressed with the rheumatiz in my limbs that I can hardly make a street length at any time."

The time and place of her death are not known.

Leith, Anthony, is described in Lord Rosebery's List as "Farmer, Bogs of Leith ha', Kinethmond. Joined himself to the Rebel Army. Worth money."

He was the 5th and youngest son of John Leith of Leith Hall, Kennethmont, and his wife, Janet Ogilvie, daughter of George, second Lord Banff. All his brothers were "out" in the Forty-Five except John, the eldest, who had succeeded to Leith Hall in 1727, and was, therefore, less tempted towards so adventurous an enterprise; John had married Mary, daughter of Charles Hay of Rannes, and was, therefore, brother-in-law to Andrew Hay (q.v.).

When and where Anthony Leith joined the Jacobite army is not known, but he certainly escaped after Culloden and was at liberty, probably roaming the country or in hiding, until October 1746, when he was arrested at his own house of Bogs and was in prison in Aberdeen on the 28th of the same month.

In a list (P.R.O.) of 27 persons "against whom there is sufficient evidence," the name of Anthony Leith appears—"A Captain and commanded a party of rebels."

He was subsequently tried and transported, for he is mentioned in a list (at the P.R.O.) of "some rebels who had lately been seen about the country and whom it is supposed had returned from transportation." Unfortunately, there is no date to this list beyond the year 1747.

Anthony was married, for Jean Hay, writing to her brother Andrew Hay at Antwerp on 3rd September 1762, says:—"I'm glad to hear so good accounts of Anthony Leith's son and am hopefull Mr. Leith (John Leith of Leith Hall, her nephew and the boy's cousin, the elder John having died in 1737)[1] will contribute to relieve him from some of his difficulties. He has been very kind to two of the sisters which are, I believe, all Anthony's family." There is no further record of Anthony, who was presumably dead by this date.

Leith, George.

The third son of John Leith of Leith Hall. He does not appear in the List of Rebels but he was probably the "Master of the house" arrested with his younger brother Lawrence on 4th August 1746. This is related in a letter from Lord Ancrum to Major Roper, dated Aberdeen 6th Aug. 1746. "A party of Lord Loudoun's Regiment went on Monday night (Aug. 4th) to a house, upon information that some rebel officers were there. They insisted on searching, found some firelocks, dirks, and pistols and a Rebel Captain, Lawrence Leith. Two others made their escape narrowly. The party took the Master of the house, also called Leith, prisoner, and next morning the Brother of the Master of the house came and insulted the party by words, and took, as they call it here 'instruments' against the officer, upon which, he being of the same stamp as the rest, the officer also confined him." That George was made a prisoner is shown by a note from the Lord Justice-Clerk (Andrew Fletcher) to Lord Albemarle, which is dated Edinburgh 12th August:—"I have enclosed a copy of information against George and Pat. Leith. There must have been some sort of reason for such procedure, which is not taken notice of in the information."

Of the part George Leith played in the '45 nothing is known, and he was probably discharged for want of proof. He lived subsequently at Blackhall.

[1]The John Leith of Leith Hall here mentioned was killed in the following year, December 1763, in a scuffle in Aberdeen by James Abernethy of Mayen, who had in consequence to escape to France.

Leith, Lawrence.

Was the fourth son of John Leith of Leith Hall. In the List of Rebels he is mentioned as "Farmer, New Flinder, Kinethmond. Joined himself to the Rebel Army." He probably joined the Jacobite forces at the same time as his three brothers, Anthony, George and Patrick.

Lawrence was a captain in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, and was taken prisoner on 4th August 1746, as is related in the account of his brother George. Lord Ancrum wrote on 6th August to Lord Albemarle:—"Monday last we catched one Lawrence Leith, a rebel captain, who I am told did great mischief during the Rebellion and was particularly active in raising men for the Pretender."

Lawrence Leith was in prison at Aberdeen on 11th August, and in a list of "persons in custody in Scotland for treason, concerning whom no orders are yet given" (P.R.O.), there appears the name of "Lawrence Leith, confessed." Apparently he admitted that he joined the Jacobite army and was seen in arms. There is no record of his trial, but he was transported, as in the P.R.O. there is another list of "some rebels seen about in town—it is supposed returned from transportation," and amongst them the name appears "Lawrence Leith of Leith Hall." That he undoubtedly did return to the North of Scotland is proved by the announcement of his death in the *Aberdeen Journal*:—"18th January 1778. Died in his 65th year, Mr. Lawrence Leith of the family of Leith-hall." He had lived in Aberdeen for some time previous to his death. It seems that he was quite a character and was known locally as "Lowrie" Leith. Many stories about him were formerly told in the Strathbogie district. It is said that he was once asked what would happen to outlaws in the next world, and he replied that in a dream he had a vision of the judgment day, and upon an angel asking him what church he had been in the habit of attending, he frankly replied "none." The angel frowned and asked his name and address. "I hae nae name," was the answer, "I'm only a puir, auld, nameless, hameless rebel." The angel then smiled and admitted him to Paradise.

Leith, Patrick.

Was the second son of John Leith of Leith Hall. Being the eldest of the 4 Jacobite brothers, he was probably the person who, after the arrest of Lawrence Leith on 4th August 1746, was indiscreet enough to come the next morning to the same house and insult the soldiers and was consequently arrested as "being of the same stamp as the rest." It seems clear from this that the arrest of Lawrence was made at night. Information was lodged against Patrick Leith and his brother George, but as no account of any subsequent proceedings has been found, he was probably shortly after released.

Leslie, John, 7th Laird of Warthill.

Is said to have been "out" in the Rising of 1745, but no details are available, in fact, it is sometimes asserted that it was not the laird but his son Alexander who actually joined the Jacobite army. In any case neither was excepted from the Act of Indemnity, nor do their names occur in any list of rebels.

Lumsden, David, Farmer, in Mains of Auchlossan, Lumphanan.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is described as "dead in 1746"; having been actually killed at Culloden. He was the son of John Lumsden in Cromar (and his wife, whose name was Irvine), and was a captain under Prince Charles. On 24th May 1746 an edict was issued by the Sheriff of Aberdeen, citing James, Harry, John and Margaret Lumsden, lawful children of the deceased David Lumsden in Mains of Auchlossan, who died in April of that year, to see executors appointed. The value of the estate was considerable, and included several debts due by Jacobite neighbours, such as Patrick Duguid of Auchinhove, James Farquharson of Balmoral and James Innes of Balnacraig.

Lumsden, John, in Mill of Coull.

Was the youngest son of John Lumsden in Cromar, and brother of David in Mains of Auchlossan. He was a farmer at the Mill of Coull, and in the '45 apparently only gave the cause moral support, for, according to Lord Rosebery's List, he "bought and furnisht shoes for the rebels, did not appear in arms, but was very active in spiriting up his neighbours to rise in rebellion." He was obliged to go into hiding for a time after the Rising, but was not prosecuted, as he was subsequently one of the trustees for the widow and children of his brother David. John Lumsden married Katherine, daughter of John Reid in Ballbrydie, by whom he had 2 sons.

Lumsden, John, of Ardhuncart, Kildrummy.

Is not mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List. There were two men of this name, known respectively as the "Young Turk" and the "Old Turk of Towie." John Lumsden the elder, the "Old Turk," died in 1740, and his wife, Helen Sheriff, in 1744. They are both buried at Auchindoir. John Lumsden, junior, the "Young Turk," was born in 1715, and, according to the "Donean Tourist," was "a robust daring man who joined the Jacobite army and was killed at Culloden." The latter statement is, however, erroneous, as in the year 1797 he purchased the lands of Blairmaud from Alexander Russell of Montcoffer and George Abercromby of Birkenbog.

McDonald, Alexander, Merchant, Aberdeen.

It is difficult to realise exactly what this man did in the '45, or if he actually took up arms. According to Lord Rosebery's List he was "frequently in company with the Rebels and assisted in breaking open letters, for which he is now in prison at Aberdeen." Perhaps he confined his activities to talking, drinking healths and rifling the post-bag. In the List of Prisoners in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, sent in to the Right Honourable the Lord Justice Clerk, May 1746, there is:—"Alexander

McDonald, Merchant in Aberdeen, imprisoned by order of Mr. Bruce, the Judge Advocate, who can inform anent his cryme." What happened after this is not stated, but McDonald apparently was able later on to return to Aberdeen and continue his trade as a merchant. The *Aberdeen Journal* records that on "21st September 1772 died after a short illness Alexander McDonald, Merchant of Aberdeen, who besides an inflexible honesty, possessed a large stock of true but harmless wit and good humour, which, as it afforded much pleasure to others, contributed not a little to his own support under many hardships he suffered in the course of his life, and his acquaintance will long remember him with the sentiments of Hamlet for his favourite Yorick."

McGregor, Captain, of Inverenzie, Glengairn.

Does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List and his Christian name is not known. He was a grandson of Malcolm McGregor of Inverenzie. The McGregors fled to Deeside in the reign of James VI, because of his savage proceedings against that clan in their own home, and were then protected by Clan Chattan and the Marquis of Huntly. Previous to the time of Malcolm McGregor, the Inverenzie family was rich, but he being unfortunately involved in a process of law before the Court of Session, spent almost all he had before, by a stratagem, he gained his cause. The McGregor of the '45 was, therefore, possibly rather hard up. The Rev. John Stirton says that "McGregor mustered a little band of followers in Glengairn and marched off to join Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment in 1745." He was appointed a captain and served throughout the campaign. There is a letter from Charles Gordon of Blelack to James Moir of Stoneywood in which the former says that he would gladly have complied with Moir's request to send some soldiers "if Munaltrie and I had not sent a good many of the men we had upon fitt with Mr. McGregor of Inverenzie to Aberdeen, which will be with you before this comes to hand." In the "Legends of the Braes of Mar," by John Grant, it is stated that at Culloden, McGregor of Inverenzie and Patrick Fleming of

Auchintoul, his neighbour, were wounded side by side. They remained on the field all day. In the evening, while both lay writhing with pain, some English soldiers passed, and one of them seeing McGregor move, drove a bayonet through his shoulder and killed him. Patrick Fleming, being fortunate enough to escape notice, survived for some years.

McGinnis, Thomas.

A man of this name, described as a "labourer, of the Shire of Banff," was a prisoner at Carlisle on 30th December 1745, and was tried at York in October 1746. He was proved to have acted as a sergeant in Glenbucket's regiment, and, in spite of the defence that he was compelled by force to take up arms, he was found guilty on the general evidence and condemned to death. He was executed at York on 8th November 1746. The name McGinnis seems unusual and one cannot help feeling that the English—not for the first time—made a mistake about things Scottish—and that it should really read McInnes. He does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List.

McRae, Alexander.

In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels this individual is described as "Alexander McRa. An Idler—Banff. A Lieutenant," and at the time of the making up of the list, which was compiled by John Stuart, Supervisor of Excise at Banff, it was not known where he was, nor has any further information been obtained.

The name was, no doubt, in reality McRae.

Maitland, Mr. John, Non-jurant Minister, Caraldston (Careston).

In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels from Montrose, the above parson is mentioned as being a Prisoner. It is further added that he "acted as Factor for the Rebels upon the forfeited Estates of South Esk and Panmuir, squeezed the Tenents in the cruelest manner for money;

carried his insolence and oppression to that height as to cause put into the Stocks and in Irons several persons well affected to his Majesty upon their refusing to pay him their rents, and afterwards went with the rebel army to Stirling. He came originally from the Parish of Fourage (Forgue) in Aberdeenshire."

This John Maitland was the grandson of John Maitland, minister of Inverkeithny, who died in 1698, leaving three sons, all apparently on the side of the Stuarts:—

(1) "Mr. James," who succeeded to the benefice of Inverkeithny, and was deposed by the General Assembly of 9th May 1715 for refusing to observe the thanksgiving for the accession of King George I. He retired to Boghead of Haddo in the Parish of Forgue.

(2) "Mr. John," minister of Forgue, about whom nothing more is known, save that he was translated from Turriff on 24th April 1707, and deposed from his benefice for the same reason as his brother.

(3) And "Mr. David," Episcopal minister of Forgue, who lost his sight about 1734, discharged the duties of the ministry, though blind, and again recovered it on undergoing an operation for cataract.

"Mr. James," the eldest of the three, must have been over sixty years in 1745. His son John, the nonjurant minister of Careston (therefore an Episcopalian and not mentioned in "Hew Scott's fasti," which deals with Presbyterian ministers only), was born in 1719 after his father's deposition, and was appointed early in 1746 chaplain to Lord Ogilvie's regiment. He was present with it on the field of Culloden, where he is said to have administered the Holy Communion to the dying Lord Strathallan, in oatmeal and whisky, no other elements being available. He escaped and lived for many years in France, returning to Edinburgh, where he died in extreme old age, at the end of the eighteenth century.

Martin, John, Farmer, Gordon's Mill, Aberdeen.

"The Records of Old Aberdeen" state that on 13th October 1732, John Martin, tenant at Gordon's Mills, was entered in the register of merchants and trade burgesses of Aberdeen, so that he must have been a man of over 30 at the time of the Jacobite Rising. He was an ensign in Prince Charles' army, and, whether captured at Culloden or subsequently, he was in any case a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen in May 1746, and is mentioned as "John Martine at Gordon's Miln, was in arms with the rebels." He was taken to Carlisle, tried there in September 1746 and acquitted on 19th September, as he had surrendered, according to the *Scots Magazine,* in pursuance of the Duke of Cumberland's declaration, after Culloden.

(There is a note in the Record Office that it was seriously considered whether it was necessary or not to keep faith with the rebels, but apparently the more honourable course was adopted, and those who had surrendered by the required date were "acquitted.")

Menzies, Gilbert, younger, of Pitfodels.

Was the eldest son of William Menzies of Pitfodels and his wife Mary, eldest daughter of John Urquhart of Meldrum. Mary's sister married Charles Gordon of Blelack. William Menzies himself had been "out" in the '15 but took no active part in the '45, though he was very industrious in raising men for Prince Charles and in compelling his tenants and servants to take up arms in support of the cause. This is shown by the statement of William Williamson, butcher in Hillhead of Blairs, who upon being made prisoner in May 1746, declared that in October 1745 he had been pressed "into the young Laird of Pitfodel's Corps in the Rebels Service by Donald Campbell and John Davidson, servants to the Old Laird of Pitfodles and carried to Stonehive, where they were regularly paid by Samuel Midleton, the Old Laird of Pitfodles principal servant, who was on the head of that gang for pressing men. Declares he continued in this service, sometimes at Stonehive, sometimes

at Aberdeen, and went along with the Rebels to the skirmish at Inverurie: from thence returned to Aberdeen, where some time after he and 9 more of Pitfodles Corps laid down their arms at Pitfodles Lodging, vizt.; John Davidson, Donald Campbell, Magnus Toash, James Miln, George Collie, John Gordon and 3 others whose names he has forgot, in presence of William Menzies of Pitfodels, elder, who desired them to take up their arms again, otherways he would cause cut out their ears and throw them into prison. But he and his neighbours went home at that time." William Menzies was certainly very energetic in the Stuart cause, though possibly he reckoned himself too old to take up arms,[1] though *all* his sons fought for Prince Charles. Gilbert, the eldest, was born in 1712, and was at the Scots College at Douai with his younger brother John from 1726 to 1731, when he returned to Scotland. Apparently Gilbert must have served for a time in the French army, as in Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels he is described as "formerly a French officer, carried arms at Culloden. Lurking." On the outbreak of the Rising he was made a captain in Prince Charles' army and commanded a body of men known as "Pitfodel's Corps." He, like his father, was most active in raising men, though he seems to have been ill in December 1745 when he wrote the following letter from Pitfodels to James Moir of Stoneywood at Aberdeen:—

"Dear Sir,

I send you here inclosed ane account of the five pounds sterling I receaved from you for payment to my men. You will see by the said account, that I have debursed twelve shillings and sixpence more then I receved. Being bed-fast my self, I hope you will remitt to Mr. James Crighton, upon his receipt, money for their subsistance, allowing in the first end of it the twelve shillings and six pence I am out of pocket, which will mightily oblige, dear Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

GILBERT MENZIES."

[1]He was 57 in 1745, and papers in the Record Office state that he never went "out."

Of Gilbert's activities in the '45 little is known, but he was present with the army at Prestonpans, in England, and at Falkirk and Culloden. Bisset in his Diary on 7th February 1746, writes:—"I hear Pitfodels eldest son was killed at Stirling," but this was incorrect. Gilbert was excepted from pardon in 1747, and in the list of pensioners of the French Government in the French Foreign Office, 5th November 1748, there appears the name of "Capitaine Gilbert Menzies de Pitfodels" as the recipient of 1,000 francs. There is no record of his having married, and he must have been dead before 1756 when his next brother John died, and is then described as "younger of Pitfodels," their father William being still alive. The latter did not die till 1780, aged 92, his wife, Mary Urquhart, having predeceased him in 1771, aged 80.

Menzies, John.

Second son of William Menzies of Pitfodels, was born in 1718, and at the early age of 8 accompanied his elder brother Gilbert to the Scots College at Douai as the record shows, under date 10th October 1726, "Gilbert et Joannes Menzies, de Pitfodels, ex patre Gulielme et matre Maria Urquhart filia Dni de Meldrum, a rhetorica. Redierunt in patriam 1731." From that date till 1745 nothing is known about John, but he then took up arms for the Prince and received a captaincy. In the "Origins of the '45" it is stated that "immediately on Lord Pitsligo's resolution being known, there appeared to join him from country about Aberdeen, Mr. Irvine of Drum, two sons of Menzies of Pitfodels," etc. This probably refers to Gilbert and John Menzies. The younger brothers joined later, being most likely *persuaded* to do so by their father! It seems that John Menzies went with the Prince's army into England and was accompanied by one servant, James Donald, who was afterwards made prisoner. The latter, after his arrest, confessed that he had been in arms with the rebels, "being servant to John Menzies, one of Pitfodel's sons, and went with them into England, as far as Derby." John Menzies was present at Culloden

and afterwards lurked for some time. He probably did not go to France, like his brothers, but remained concealed till the passing of the Act of Indemnity. This is borne out by the fact that he is not mentioned in the Paris list of pensioners of the French Government in 1748 and he did not receive any gratuity. In 1755 he married Marion, daughter of William Maxwell of Kirkconnell, by whom he had a son. He died, at his house in Aberdeen, in March 1756, being then described as "John Menzies, younger of Pitfodels." His father, William Menzies, still held the estate of Pitfodels. John's wife, Marion Maxwell, survived him for twenty years, dying at Nancy, Lorraine, in May 1776. The son, above referred to, also named John, was served heir male general to "his father John Menzies, son of William Menzies of Pitfodels" in December 1777, but had to wait for three years more before he succeeded his grandfather.

Menzies, William.

The third son of William Menzies of Pitfodels was born in 1721. He accompanied his two younger brothers, David and Alexander, to the Scots College at Ratisbon in July 1735, and remained there till 1738. He took up arms for Prince Charles, and with his servant, Alexander Melvin, accompanied the Jacobite forces to England. He was with the Prince's army during the whole Rising, and escaped after Culloden, going into hiding for a while, as, when the List of Rebels was compiled, his whereabouts was "not known." He ultimately escaped to France, and in the list of pensioners in Paris in 1748 he is described as "Capitaine" and is granted a gratuity of 600 francs. Against his name is written "retourné dans la Grande Bretagne." Nothing more is known of his career.

Menzies, David.

The fourth son of Pitfodels, was born in 1722. He was at the Scots College at Ratisbon with his brothers, William and Alexander, from 1735 to 1738, when they all three returned to Scotland. In 1745 he took up arms for the Young Chevalier, and advanced with the army

into England. He was present at Culloden, and after that disaster he remained in hiding for some time. Eventually he escaped to France, and in 1748 he was granted the same gratuity as his brother William of 600 francs, being also described as captain.[1]

Menzies, Alexander.

The fifth son was born in 1723. He also went to Ratisbon from 1735 till 1738, when he was recalled to Scotland, but returned to Ratisbon in November of the same year with his youngest brother James. Alexander entered his novitiate in the year 1741, but again returned to Scotland in 1745 to take part in the effort to restore the Stuarts to the throne of their ancestors. He did not remain long with the Jacobites, for in the Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, under date 25th April, it is recorded that "in respect it appeared that Alexander Menzies had returned home from the Rebels the beginning of November last in terms of General Wade's Proclamation, and that he was not concerned with them since, the Governours appoint him to find baill for his good behaviour and appearance, under the penalty of one hundred pounds Scots."

Owing to the above fact Alexander Menzies' name does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels.

From the Catholic Directory may be gathered a few further details of his life. Having been educated by the Benedictine Monks at Ratisbon he succeeded Mr. Geddes at the mission at Shenval, when the latter went to Scalan. Alexander Menzies did not remain long at Shenval but went to Auchanacy, near Keith, where lived the Misses Gordon, nieces to Bishop Gordon. There he remained, attending the Catholics about Keith and Auchintoul till 1782, when, finding that charge too great for his age and constitution, he settled with Miss Gordon of Auchintoul, discharging all pastoral duties to the few Catholics in that neighbourhood. He died at Auchintoul in 1799, aged 76.

[1]It seems that he must ultimately have returned to Scotland, as in the Register of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Aberdeen, it is stated that David Menzies, younger of Pitfodels, was a witness to a baptism some years later.

Menzies, James.

Sixth and youngest son, was born 1725. In November 1738 he went with his brother Alexander to Ratisbon. There is no record of how long James Menzies remained there, but he was certainly back in Scotland in 1745, as he took up arms with his brothers and fought throughout the whole Rising. All the brothers (with the exception of Alexander, who had already submitted to the authorities) were fortunate enough to escape from Culloden, and it seems that after that disaster they all returned home to Pitfodels. Also it appears that they were very nearly captured. Amongst the Burgh Records of Aberdeen there is an entry, dated 5th May 1746, which bears on the matter. "We had information that Menzies of Pitfoddles (whose house is five miles from this town) had five sons, who had been all in the Rebellion, returned to their father's house. Immediately on this notice we consulted with Captain Crosbie and he sent a party of the Military from the Fort, who, in conjunction with a party of our Volunteers, searched the house of Pitfoddles. They found none of the sons but have got two of their servants, who acknowledge they were in the Rebellion, and they are committed to prison." These two were most likely James Donald, servant to John Menzies, and Alexander Melvin, servant to William Menzies.

James Menzies ultimately escaped abroad, and his name appears (as Capitaine) in the list of those who were pensioners of the French Government in 1748, but after it is written "N'a pas eu part dans la gratification." The reason for this is not clear, as he appears to have been just as energetic as the other Menzies brothers. James Menzies was alive in 1772, as a letter from him exists among the papers of Bishop Robert Forbes of this date.

Nothing now remains of Pitfodels Castle as inhabited by the Menzies, and its site can scarcely be traced, although it is known to have been at a spot called Castlehaugh, close to the east side of Norwood Hall, Cults.

Mercer, Hugh.

Does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List, but G. W. A. Macnaughton, M.D., in "Medical Heroes of the Forty-Five" *(The Caledonian Medical Journal)*, states that Hugh Mercer was a student at Marischal College, Aberdeen, from 1740 to 1744, and was born in 1726. On the outbreak of the Rising, Mercer joined the Jacobites and was appointed a surgeon's mate in the Prince's army. There is no record of his services, but he was lucky enough to escape after Culloden, and, having emigrated to America, settled as a medical practioner in Pennsylvania. In 1755, when there was trouble with the French, Mercer joined General Maddock's forces advancing against Fort Duquesne—the site of the present Pittsburg. Escaping from the trap in which that general and half his army was caught, Mercer was present later on at the taking of the place by General Forbes, and was left in command there for three months. During these operations he was brought into touch with George Washington, then a young officer in the provincial forces. Mercer settled in Virginia, and as captain of the local militia drilled and organised the recruits. When the great struggle with the mother country began, Mercer was, by the special desire of Washington, appointed a brigadier-general in the Colonial army, and saw much service. With his flying column he was renowned for successful night attacks, and in one of these—at Princeton—he was unhorsed and bayoneted. He was removed to a neighbouring farmhouse, where he died, after ten days' acute suffering, on 3rd January 1777.

Mercer, Thomas, of Auchnacant.

Was the son of James Mercer, Merchant, Aberdeen, who owned Auchnacant, and was served heir to him in 1720. Thomas is also described as a merchant, and "a gentleman of considerable note, that resided usually in the town of Aberdeen." The Mercers of Auchnacant were cadets of the Mercers of Aldie, Perthshire. In Lord Rosebery's List Thomas Mercer is described as

"Aid-de-Camp to Lord Pitsligo during the whole rebellion," and it is said that his yearly income was £200, but that he had no house! He escaped after Culloden, and apparently wandered about the country for some considerable time. A few days after the battle, George Mackenzie, Writer in Edinburgh, said that he met at Charleston of Aboyne Thomas Mercer (dressed in Highland clothes), who said he had been at the battle and that the Jacobites were defeated. Francis Farquharson of Finzean also said that he saw Thomas Mercer a week after Culloden at Finzean, and that he was then dressed as a farmer with a grey coat. In October 1746, Thomas Mercer was seen at Lethinty, dressed in black clothes, by a man who mistook him for Robert Mercer of Aldie, who had been killed at Culloden. The case, brought by the Government in 1749, to confiscate the estate of Aldie, was founded on the idea that *Robert* Mercer had survived Culloden. As he had *not* done so (the wandering Mercer seen by witnesses having been proved to be Thomas) the case was lost, since the estates of those killed in action were neither forfeited nor attainted.[1]

A True Bill of High Treason was returned against Thomas Mercer in Edinburgh, October 1748. He had, after much wandering, escaped to France and lived in Paris, where he appears in the Foreign Office list of pensioners of that year as "Thomas Messer, Garde du corps, 600 francs."

His wife, Katherine Arbuthnot, predeceased him in 1749, leaving him two sons, David who succeeded to Auchnacant, and James.

Thomas himself died in 1770.

Mitchell, Walter.

Is included in Mr. Sharp's list of "such of the rebel prisoners as do not properly fall under the designation of Gentlemen but are above the rank of Common men. He was an Ensign and Adjutant to the Duke of Perth's regiment. When he entered into the Rebellion he was

[1]See letter to Mrs. Harry Farquharson, page 168.

a farmer by way of under-tenant in the parish of King-Edward in Aberdeenshire. His father is dead and his mother keeps an alehouse. He is a low man and has no estate." He does not occur in Rosebery's list.

He was a student at Aberdeen University (17 years of age), but left in the autumn of 1745 for fear of Gordon of Glenbucket's men, who were searching for recruits. He took refuge in Buchan, but seems to have returned to his mother's house, as he was there taken by Lord Pitsligo's men, who surrounded the house and forced him to go with them, wounding him in the head when he resisted. He was then placed on a bare-backed horse, with his feet tied under the horse's belly, and taken to Montrose, though his mother offered twenty guineas for his release. The rebels told her they wanted men not money.

At Edinburgh he was given a commission as ensign under Lord Pitsligo, was with the Jacobite army on its march into England, and appointed one of the officers of the garrison left in Carlisle. After the surrender of the city, he was taken with the other officers to London.

At his trial at St. Margaret's Hill on 25th October 1746 he pleaded the force mentioned above, and also the fact that his mother had supplied corn, hay and straw to Cope's army in Banff on 6th September 1745, before he was seized, and that the rebels were specially violent towards him on that account.

The plea of having been made to join the Jacobite army by force (except in the unique case of Robert Forbes of Corse) was always held to be invalidated by the subsequent acceptance of a commission, and Mitchell was convicted on the evidence of two informers — (1) John Vere, whose testimony hanged many good men, and (2), Samuel Maddocks, a most unfortunate recruit from Manchester, who turned King's evidence and was *so useful* to the Government that he was rewarded with £100 in the following year—more than he would have made in a long period by his trade of surgeon's apprentice! These two had seen Mitchell efficiently performing his duties as an officer of the garrison in Carlisle. He was, therefore, convicted of high treason

and 28th November 1746 appointed for his execution, but he petitioned for mercy, was reprieved and remained for another year in the New Gaol, Southwark. Here he is heard of twice, first as petitioning against the terrible conditions of life and the want of air, and, secondly, as taking part in a mutiny, in the course of which he struck a turnkey on the head with an iron bar. He was, however, eventually pardoned on condition of transportation, and was one of those shipped "to the Americas" by Mr. Samuel Smith the contractor, in 1748. (In the end of 1747 Mr. Smith complains that one of his ships was taken by the French, with 150 men, and that he was, therefore, deprived of his profit on selling them to employers in Antigua!)

Moir, James, of Stoneywood.

Was 4th laird of Stoneywood, not the 3rd, as is so often stated (he being the eldest son of James Moir, 3rd of Stoneywood, who was "out" in the '15, and his wife, Jean Erskine of Pittodrie). He was born in 1710, and married, at Ardross in 1740, his cousin, Margaret Mackenzie of Ardross, by whom he had 15 children; these mostly died in infancy except Charles (born 1752), who entered the British army and was killed in America, and two daughters, Jane and Maria.

The family of Stoneywood seems to have been always devotedly attached to the Stuart cause. In the old house of Stoneywood there used to hang a portrait of Bishop Juxon, who attended Charles I on the scaffold; there was also the Bible which the King put into the hands of the Bishop with the word "Remember." The Bible is said to have come into the possession of the Stoneywood family through Mary Scroggie (descended from Bishop Patrick Scougall, a relative of Juxon) and wife of James Moir, 2nd of Stoneywood.

Coming from a Jacobite family, it is not surprising that James Moir early declared for Prince Charles. The narrative of events in Aberdeen and Banff, printed in W. B. Blaikie's "Origins of the Forty-Five," says that "very soon after the Young Pretender landed, More of

Stonnywood prepared to join him, at first very privately, as his estate lay within 3 miles of Aberdeen, where all in appearance was for the Government. This gentleman very early imbibed the Jacobite principles and was entirely educated in that way; his fortune also was greatly embarassed, so that his going off was no great surprise. He was a man of little note or interest and of no great genius, but yet by his activity, diligence and application, and thorough acquaintance with the circumstances of Town and Country, he was very serviceable to the Rebels in those parts. He slipped away at first, alone, and came up with his pretended Prince, as he was about to enter Edinburgh, and having immediately got a Commission to raise men, he left them before the Battle of Preston, and had the assurance to enter the town of Aberdeen supported by a couple of broken merchants and York Street Cadys (messenger-porters of a low street in Aberdeen) all in white cockades and to enlist men for the Pretender. The well-affected people in town seemed only to make a jest of Stonnywood and his procession, and the magistrates found it convenient to overlook it, since any ill-usage of him might have been severely revenged by a very small party, for as Cope had carried off the Town's Arms, lest the Rebels should have seized them, a very few armed men might have come and plundered the whole town: but from this small beginning thus neglected, the Rebels very soon became masters of the place in reality."

James Moir proceeded at once to raise a battalion of infantry, which was known as "Stoneywood's regiment," of which Lord Lewis Gordon was the titular Colonel. Moir's example encouraged others, as is shown by a notice in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 7th October:— "A letter from Aberdeen says Mr. Moire of Stonywood has raised a Troop for the Prince's service, and I can assure you for certain that the whole free-holders of Aberdeen (four only excepted) have actually declared themselves for the Prince's Interest, and will get on horseback as soon as possible and head their people." This was somewhat of an exaggeration, but as we now show, many more people from the town of Aberdeen and

neighbourhood joined the Jacobite army than the majority of historians would have us believe.

There are three references to James Moir in Bisset's Diary. On 24th October 1745 he writes:—"This day there was a beating up for recruits to Lord Lewis Gordon, for the Pretender; Stonnywood is also at Aberdeen recruiting. They come little speed." On 1st November:—"Stonnywood made the drum go on Tuesday forbidding all rejoicings on Wednesday, the King's birthday," and again 10th February 1746:—"Yesternight and this day, a good many more of the rebels are come to town, among whom is Stonnywood, in good health."

In Lord Rosebery's List James Moir appears as "of Stonywood, Newhills, Aberdeen. A Lieutenant Collonel during the whole Rebellion. Lurking." The rent of his estate is there given as £80, and the condition of his Mansion House is described as "very good." The Duke of Cumberland's List makes the rental £150.

James Moir with his regiment joined the Prince and took part in the march to England. He was strongly in favour of it, and, contrary to the majority of the Prince's officers, held that it should have been continued to London. He stood high in the estimation of Prince Charles — possibly on account of this opinion! He was present at Culloden and escaped after the rout. A Jacobite named Martin, who was afterwards in prison at Aberdeen, testified that two days after Culloden he and many other fugitives from the battle went to Ruthven in Badenoch, and that Stoneywood, his commander, came there and told the men that orders had been given that they should all disperse and shift for themselves and that afterwards he saw Stoneywood tear the colours from the Staff.

Meanwhile, his house had been occupied by the military. The Duke of Cumberland on his way north quartered his men on the properties of the Jacobite chiefs, and a troop of dragoons was billeted at Stoneywood. Their captain fell sick, and during his illness was carefully looked after by Mrs. Moir. As soon as he was well, he left with his men for Inverness, expressing most

grateful thanks to the lady of Stoneywood, adding that to her he owed his life and that he would never forget her. Some time after, when she was sitting alone at night, not knowing what had become of her husband, a stone, wrapped in white paper, was flung into the darkening room. It was from the young Englishman, and bore the words, "Stoneywood is safe."

James Moir made his way from Ruthven, through the wilds of Braemar, and at length reached his own house — at midnight, and tapped at the window of the room in which his wife was sleeping. She opened the window and found him standing outside, got him quietly into the room, not daring to speak, and put him to bed. Next day she kept him concealed, and it is said that he remained hidden in the neighbourhood of Stoneywood for some time. Mr. James Cruickshank of Bucksburn says that in his youth an underground room, now part of the Pirie Paper Works at Stoneywood and then known locally as "Hell," was stated to have been the hiding place of Moir after Culloden. He narrowly escaped detection several times and decided to leave the district and make for Buchan, where he was concealed in Cruden in the house of a faithful servant of the name of Bartlett. Thinking himself unsafe there, he moved to the house of John Clark, a cobbler, who lived in a remoter part of the country, and was father to the wife of Bartlett, his previous host. Here Moir assumed the name of James Jamieson, and learned the trade of cobbling. It is said by Dr. James Brown in "Horæ Subsecivæ," that he acquitted himself so well in this new occupation as to win praise from the old man, who said, "Jeemes, my man, what for did ye no tell me ye had been bred a sutor?" "And so I was, freend," replied the laird, "but to tell ye God's truth, I was an idle loon, gey weel-faured, and ower fond o' the lasses, so I joined the Prince's boys, and ye see what's come o't." Whilst he lived in John Clark's house, he had a place of concealment, behind a bed, to which he used to retire when anyone came to the house. Dr. Brown also quotes another story. Whilst the laird was lurking as a cobbler, a party of dragoons was sent to search the house

of Stoneywood for him. They remained there for a few days, and just as they were about to move off, unsuccessful, the commanding officer dropped behind and said in a low voice to Mrs. Moir:—"In case of another visit from us you had better remove the portrait of the *cobbler* from the dining room!"

Moir lay concealed in Buchan for many months. After some hair-breadth escapes, he, with his brother Charles, old John Gordon of Glenbucket, Sir Alexander Bannerman and two other gentlemen of the Prince's army, embarked on 5th November 1746 on a small sloop from the coast of Buchan for Norway. Having safely reached that country, Moir proceeded to Sweden, and entered into trade at Gottenburg. There he was subsequently joined by his wife. He received 1,500 livres from the French Government in consideration of his having raised and maintained his own regiment during the '45. Prince Charles recommended him to the King of Sweden, and James Moir went to Stockholm, where he lived for many years and became a naturalized Swedish subject, which, freeing him from certain taxes on foreigners, assisted him in his business. He also received a patent of nobility. Meanwhile, he had been excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, and at Edinburgh in October 1748 a True Bill of High Treason was found against him in his absence. The estate of Stoneywood was not, however, confiscated owing to his father, James Moir, 3rd of Stoneywood, being still alive at the time.[1]

After sixteen years exile, James Moir returned from Sweden in 1762, having, it is said, received the royal permission to do so. This seems doubtful, and no official record of it has been found. He was certainly in London in February 1762, since Jean Hay wrote in that month to her brother, Andrew Hay of Rannes, then an exile at Antwerp:—"I'm told that Stoneywood is just now at London and meets with no trouble. This certainly must be through the interest of his friends." In March James Moir was in Edinburgh, and on 19th

[1]It is said that he did not die until 1782, but as he was "out" in 1715 he must have been a very old man.

April Jean Hay writes again to her brother:—"Stoneywood's reception is no bad incouragement to others in his situation. He is now come the length of Aberdeen and has there been greatly cajolled by all his friends and acquaintances." Another correspondent (James Hay) wrote to Andrew in July 1762:—"Stonnywood's story is still dark, but it's generally said he gott some recommendations to the King of Prussia and that he owes his security to him." James Hay wrote again to Andrew in February 1763:—"Stonnewood lives here (Edinburgh) and appears publicly and quite unmolested." From all this it appears probable that James Moir returned without legal sanction, but was not prosecuted after so many years had elapsed. Andrew Hay shortly afterwards did the same thing with the like result.

Moir returned to Stoneywood and was allowed once more to lead the peaceful life of a country gentleman. It is pleasant to note that he never forgot the services of his old friends. He visited Bartlett's house, where he lay before he went to the cobbler's, and, finding his former host dead, took the widow and 5 children to Stoneywood and maintained them till the latter were able to support themselves. On 16th January 1782 he executed a deed of settlement in favour of his daughter Maria, but apparently a decision to sell the estate of Stoneywood was taken just before his death. The advertisement of the sale on 6th September is as follows:—"The Mansion-house of Stoneywood, with the offices, garden, pigeon-house and that part of the estate called the Lower Barony of Stoneywood, with the salmon fishing on the river Don belonging to the same estate. The present gross rents amount to £475 Sterling."—*(Aberdeen Journal.)* And on 18th May 1785 the whole household effects of Stoneywood House, with a four-wheeled chaise, were offered for sale.

James Moir died 29th September 1784, aged 74, leaving a widow and 2 daughters, all the sons having predeceased him. The Old Machar Burial Registers show that he was buried in "October 1784 in Bishop Scougal's Aisle," in the Old Cathedral.

Mrs. Moir survived till 6th December 1805, dying at the advanced age of 96 *(Aberdeen Journal)*.

Of James Moir's two daughters, Jane married George Skene of Rubislaw, and had a son James, who was a friend of Sir Walter Scott. James Skene in his "Memorials of Sir Walter Scott" refers to his mother as "The heiress of the Jacobite Moirs of Stoneywood, a woman of character and eccentricity, who shocked her contemporaries by such extravagances as making her annual journey to Edinburgh on horseback in a scarlet riding habit." The second daughter, Maria, Mrs. Ramsay, sold Stoneywood in 1789 to James Forbes of Seaton; it passed by succession to James Gordon Hay of Seaton (grandson of James Forbes, his daughter Elizabeth having married Lord James Hay). In May 1877 a large portion of the estate was bought by Messrs. Alexander Pirie & Sons, and formed into a new and separate property known as the Estate of Waterton. The coat of arms of the Moirs is built into the wall of the office at the Stoneywood works.

Moir, Charles, Shipmaster, Aberdeen.

Younger brother of James Moir of Stoneywood. In the Rebel List Charles Moir is given as "Ship Master, Aberdeen, acted as Captain during the Rebellion. He had a commission in his brother's regiment and marched with the Jacobite forces into England." Bisset in his Diary mentions on 3rd February 1746 that "Yesterday came in here (Aberdeen) from the south Lonmay (William Moir) Tonlay (Patrick Byers) Robert Sandilands and Charles Moir." After Culloden Charles Moir went into hiding, and little more is known of him save that he went to Gottenburg. According to a letter from Patrick Byres of Tonley (dated April 1747) Charles Moir had been a captain in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment (one battalion of which was raised by Avochie, and the other by Stoneywood), and in consequence received 1,000 francs from the French Government. He was then in Sweden.

On 1st August 1747 Patrick Byres wrote again from Paris advising Charles Moir to leave Gottenburg and come to Holland to be made a Burgher at Rotterdam; then proceed to Dunkirk, Ostend, "or any oyr place of

that kind, and buy a prize, which you know you can do pretty easy, and so you'll be put in your old way again, and might be usefull to yr. friends. You being made a burgher at Rottdm. will cost you but a triffle of 15 or 20 f. or if you please you may gett yourself made a Burger of Gottenburg, which I believe would be better, and then you could sail your vessell as a Swedish ship, for in all probability the Dutch will soon be in war wt. the french."

Moir seems to have acted on this advice.

Moir, William, of Lonmay.

Was the eldest son of James Moir, 2nd of Stoneywood, by his second wife, Jean Abernethy, of Mayen, widow of William Moir of Scotstown (therefore uncle of James Moir, 4th of Stoneywood, and not his brother as is stated in the "Origins of the Forty-Five"). William Moir married a daughter of John Fullarton of Dudwick, and sister of the John Fullarton who was "out in the '45." By her he had 1 son, William, and 2 daughters, Isabella and Catherine, the latter of whom married William Cumine of Pitullie, also a Jacobite. William Moir was factor to Lady Erroll, another keen partisan of the Stuart cause; he joined the Rising quite early, and during the Jacobite occupation was appointed deputy-governor of Aberdeen, much, it is said, against his own inclination. In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels he is described as of "Nether Miln, Cruden," and as having "collected or caused to be collected the revenues of Excise and Customs and the Land Tax, and done everything in his power for the interest of the Pretender in the most active manner."

The yearly rent of his estate is given as £150, and again as £166 13s. 8d., while the condition of his house is mentioned as being "indifferent." Both these items probably refer to his property of Lonmay.

There was a curious report in December 1745 that Prince Charles with a large army was at that time close to London. This is shown by a letter from William

Moir of Lonmay to his nephew James Moir of Stoneywood, then at Aberdeen:—

"Colliston 16th December, Two afternoon.

Dear Sir,

Just as I was taking horse to come here, I saw a letter from Auchmedden, which gave the most agreeable news of the Prince and his army being within twenty miles of London on Wednesday last. The way he came to know it was by a son of his, who had come with a sloop of warr that carried arms to Inverness. He was put ashore at Portsoy on Saturday, and tells that they sailed from Harwich on Wednesday last, and then heard that the Elector had set up his standard and drawn out the guards, and train'd bands, who were reckoned to be 14,000 men, very ill affected. That the Prince's army was within twenty miles of them, and, by the *Ipswich Journal,* were reckoned 30,000. That the city of London and all England were mad in favours of the Prince, so I hope in God the Prince is now in possession of London, without bloodshed. The Prince marched through Derbyshire, and gave William of Cumberland the slip, who was far behind him. God make us all thankfull for the Prince's success."

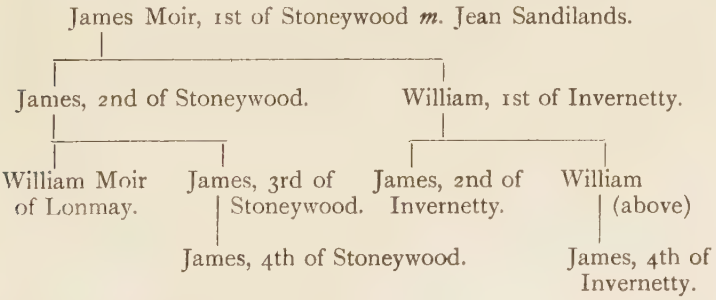
It must have been a terrible blow to all concerned when it turned out that this rumour was untrue. The son of Auchmedden referred to was John Baird of the Royal Navy, one of the 6 sons of William Baird of Auchmedden.

William Moir was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, and at Edinburgh in October of the following year a True Bill of Treason was found against him in his absence, but he was not apprehended. It is not known where he subsequently went, but he died 24th May 1752. His character is thus given by a contemporary:—

"He was a sensible man, but turned out very positive and arbitrary in his Government, which he had frequent opportunity of shewing as Lord Lewis Gordon did not reside much at Aberdeen and when he did, was always much advised by Lonmay."

Moir, William, Invernetty, Peterhead.

Was the second son of William Moir, merchant, Aberdeen (a younger son of James Moir, 1st of Stoneywood), who, about 1708, bought Invernetty. William Moir, with whom we deal, was, therefore, cousin to both James Moir of Stoneywood and William Moir of Lonmay. In Rosebery's List of Rebels he is entered as "William Moir, Sailor, brother to Invernetty. Went out into the Rebellion the 1st October 1745." His services have not been recorded, but he came through the Rising and lived to succeed his elder brother James in Invernetty in 1765, and in 1775 he was served heir to his brother's widow, Katherine Arbuthnot. William Moir had married Jean, daughter of Colonel Lewis Hay, who died 25th December 1770, in her 50th year. He himself died 22nd March 1778, and was succeeded in Invernetty by his son James.


James Moir, 1st of Stoneywood m. Jean Sandilands.
James, 2nd of Stoneywood.
William, 1st of Invernetty.
William Moir of Lonmay.
James, 3rd of Stoneywood.
James, 2nd of Invernetty.
William (above)
James, 4th of Stoneywood.
James, 4th of Invernetty.

Mosman, Thomas, Writer, Aberdeen.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is entered as "Writer, appeared on the Cross, at reading the Rebels Manifesto, wrote the Burgess Tickets to the French Officers, for which absconded, but is now admitted to Baill." In the Burgh Records of Aberdeen, under date 23rd May 1746, it is stated that Thomas Mossman, Advocate, "who was absent while his R.H. (i.e., Cumberland) was here was admitted to Bail." Nothing further is known of him. This Thomas Mosman must not be confused with another man of the same name, also an Advocate in

Aberdeen, who was a keen Hanoverian and supported the Government, being a Lieutenant in the Town's defensive force in August 1745.

The wife of the Jacobite Thomas Mosman was Elizabeth daughter of James Sandilands, third of Craibston, and possibly sister to Robert and Bartholemew (q.v.).

Niven, or **Nivie, James,** Merchant, Aberdeen.

Appears in Lord Rosebery's List as "Nivie," and as having "assisted the Rebels in keeping guard during Inverurie Skirmish — a prisoner in Aberdeen." There seems to be some confusion about his name, which is at times given as "Nivie" and at others at "Niven." In the List of Prisoners in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, reported to the Lord Justice-Clerk in May 1746, there appears "James Niven, Merchant in Aberdeen, was imprisoned by order of Mr. Bruce, the Judge Advocate, who can inform of his crime." Possibly the Aberdonian merchant committed other offences in the sight of the law besides being concerned in the Inverurie Skirmish. In the "Memorials of the Family of Lumsden," it is mentioned that a John Niven (son of James Niven) wrote to Mrs. Lumsden of Clova in 1782, describing how a privateer had entered Aberdeen Harbour, captured three vessels and sunk two. He complains of want of protection, and there is a further note, "John Niven, *whose father had been executed at Carlisle,* remained an ardent Jacobite and Non-Juror to his dying day, and naturally thought no language strong enough for the shortcomings of a Hanoverian Government," so we may conclude that James Nivie, or Niven, was taken from the Aberdeen Tolbooth to Carlisle, tried there and executed.

Niven, John, son of above.

In "Memories of Aberdeen," edited by Louisa Innes Lumsden, D.B.E., LL.D., occurs the following:—

"My grandfather's family were Whigs and Presbyterians, but his wife, *Jane Niven,* was an Episcopalian. Her father, *John Niven,* had been, as a boy, in prison

with his father at Carlisle after the Rebellion in the "Forty-Five" and to the end of his life was a strong Jacobite and non-juror, as well as a devoted member of the Scottish Episcopal Church. He was a rich man, having made a fortune in the tobacco trade.

. . . He had a house in the Guestrow,[1] which he called Thornton Court, after a small property near Keith Hall. It is a beautiful old house, built by Sir George Skene in 1669, and in it the Duke of Cumberland lodged for 6 weeks on his way to Culloden.[2] It is now, I believe, the Victorian Lodging House."

Ogilvie, Alexander, of Auchiries.

In Lord Rosebery's List he is entered as "Alexander Ogilvy of Auchires, Corthie, Rathen. Joined the Pretender's son at Edinburgh. Rent of Estate £150."[3] "Condition of house—very good and new."

Alexander Ogilvie was the son of James Ogilvie of Auchiries (who built the house of Auchiries in 1715) and Margaret Strachan, his wife. He was born in 1723 and educated at Fraserburgh, King's College, Aberdeen, Edinburgh and London, after which he went to Holland and France. He had been in the latter country but a few months when his father died and he was summoned home. As he was at that time only 18 years of age, he was placed under the guardianship of Lord Pitsligo. On that nobleman taking up arms in the Jacobite cause, Alexander Ogilvie and his two brothers, William Cumine of Pitullie, Charles Cumine of Kininmonth, Alexander Irvine of Drum and others, went with him to Edinburgh to join the Prince's army. A family tradition says that on Alexander Ogilvie being presented to the Prince at Hoylrood, he said:—"I know your family motto, Mr. Ogilvie, 'Toujour.' I hope you will add to it the word 'fidele,' to show my appreciation of

[1]Guestrow, really Ghaistrow. It overlooked the town churchyard, and was supposed to be the scene of the nightly walks of the ghosts of the dead.—G. M. Fraser.

[2]Then inhabited by Mr. Thomson.

[3]Another account says £200, and Cumberland's List gives the rental as £300!

your fidelity to your Sovereign." The family motto bears out this legend.

Alexander is said to have been accompanied by his twin younger brothers and a troop of his own tenantry. After Culloden he was not subjected to much molestation and his estates were not confiscated, but both he and William Cumine of Pitullie remained in concealment for some time. Alexander Ogilvie was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, but in October of the following year at Edinburgh the Grand Jury refused to draw up a True Bill against him. He married, in 1742, Mary, daughter of George Cumine of Pitullie, and sister of William Cumine. By her he had one son George, who succeeded to Auchiries, and a daughter Margaret, who married William Urquhart of Craigston. Alexander Ogilvie, after the death of his first wife, married Barbara, daughter of Thomas Robertson of Downiehills. One of his sisters, Rebecca, married John, only son of Lord Pitsligo (who died at Auchiries), and another, Mary, married Alexander Irvine of Drum, which goes to show how intimately connected were so many of the Jacobite families. Alexander Ogilvie died at Auchiries on 3rd March 1791, aged 68.

Many of the above particulars have been kindly furnished by Mr. J. C. Ogilvie Forbes of Boyndlie, who represents Ogilvie of Auchiries in the male line.

Ogilvie, John.

In the List of Rebels, given up by the Supervisor of Excise at Old Meldrum, he is described as "Brother to Auchires," and is stated to "have joined the Pretender's son at Edinburgh, also to "have money," which later on is declared to be "£300 stock." John Ogilvie was a younger brother of Alexander, being one of twin sons born in 1728 to James Ogilvie of Auchiries. He is said to have accompanied his elder brother when the latter went to Edinburgh in October 1745 to join Prince Charles. Nothing is known of his services during the campaign, but he came safely through it and ultimately went abroad and became a doctor. He died in the island of St. Eustatia, leaving no issue.

Ogilvie, William, twin with John just mentioned.

Rosebery's List gives the same details as those concerning his brother John, even down to the amount of money possessed. The accounts of the campaign contain nothing as to what he did in the '45, but he also survived and went to America and settled in Virginia, where he died in 1750, leaving no issue.

The property of Auchiries now belongs to the representatives of the late Mr. Chambers-Hunter of Tillery. It is interesting to observe that the estate was sold after the death (in 1801) of George Ogilvie, son of Alexander Ogilvie of the '45, George having lost all his money in the American War owing to his steadfast adherence to the Hanoverian Government! The house of Auchiries ceased to be inhabited about 100 years ago, and is now a roofless ruin. It is curious how the Jacobite Rising has left its mark in the Buchan district of Aberdeenshire—Pitsligo Castle and Pitullie, as well as Auchiries, are in ruins, while of Auchmedden, scarcely a trace is to be found. Perhaps the greatest interest attaching to the house of Auchiries is that it was the scene of Lord Pitsligo's most dramatic escape from capture.[1]

Ogilvie, Walter.

Is described in Lord Rosebery's List as a "Writer in Banff." He obtained a lieutenancy in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment and was with the Highland army on its march into England. On its return he was one of the 18 Scots officers left in the garrison at Carlisle, and was there taken prisoner on 30th December 1745. They were all conveyed to London and tried at the Court of St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark. In the list of those taken at Carlisle, Ogilvie is put down as a lieutenant in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, but in depositions at his trial three witnesses speak of him as an ensign in the Duke of Perth's regiment, and one attests that he carried the colours of that regiment into Carlisle. An eye

[1]See page 383.

witness describes him as being in the Castle at Carlisle "armed with broadsword and dirk, blue bonnet and white cockade." At his trial it was stated that he was 20 years of age, being born of "creditable" parents, that his father was still alive,[1] that he was educated as a Protestant and taught the principles of loyalty to the existing monarchy; but "having kept company with some of the rebels when they entered Banff, he imbibed their principles and joined the Jacobite army under Lord Lewis Gordon, who of regard for his family and his own natural vivacity, gave him a Lieutenant's commission. When his father saw what he contemplated, he used every argument to dissuade him from it; but Walter replied that he was so thoroughly convinced of the righteousness of the cause in which he had resolved to engage that he thought himself bound, both by the laws of God and man, to assist with all his power Prince Charles in recovering his just rights."

He was brought to trial at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, on 23rd June 1746. He then asked for witnesses from his native country to prove the force exerted to cause him to join the Jacobite army. These were John Thompson of Barnsmill and Alexander Thompson of the same place, also George Cay and Robert Gray, but he apparently neglected to put in an affidavit that the last two were material, and that he "could not safely go to trial without them."

His second trial took place on 2nd August, the two latter witnesses not having arrived; he was therefore condemned to be executed, and the following pathetic petition, which he presented a few days afterwards had no effect. It is one of the most tragic incidents of the rebel trials:—

"To the King's Most excellent Majesty.

The Humble petition of Walter Ogilvy, now under sentence of death for High Treason, sheweth—

That on Saturday last, your petitioner's trial came on at St. Margaret's Hill where your petitioner informed

[1]He was Walter Ogilvie of Badenspink, near Tillynaught, one of the Commissioners of Supply for Banffshire.

the commissioners that your petitioner's evidences were then on the road to London, and daily expected, and therefore preyed that his trial might be postponed for a few days, but in regard that your petitioner had omitted to mention in an affidavit first made by him that his new witnesses were material for his defence in his trial, they therefore refused to postpone his said trial whereupon your petitioner being thus defenceless, withdrew his plea of not-guilty and pleaded guilty. That your petitioner's witnesses George Cay and Robert Gray came to town the day following the said trial, as appears by the next affidavit, whereby also the invincible force put upon him by the rebels and your petitioner's great reluctance in going with them, and the constant attitude of the petitioner and his family to your majesty's person and government will, it is humbly hoped, plainly appear to your Majesty. Your petitioner therefore humbly throws himself at your feet imploring your Majesty's great mercy and clemency to spare your petitioners life by granting him your Majesty's most gracious pardon."

"George Cay, near Banff in the shire of Banff, labourer, and Robert Gray of the same, labourer, each speaking for himself severally, maketh oath and say that they are well acquainted with the said Walter Ogilvy, who these deponents are informed is convicted of high treason and have respectively known the said Walter Ogilvy from the time of his birth and that the said Ogilvy is about 19 years of age, and that these deponents live the one within 2 miles and the other ½ a mile of the dwelling house of the said Ogilvy's father, and that his parents and the said Walter regularly attended the parish church of Boindie, they being of the communion of the Church of Scotland and these deponents further say that from the general character of the said Walter Ogilvy and his family and as these deponents verily believe, they are all very good and loyal subjects to his present Majesty and that the said Walter Ogilvy would not have marched with the rebel party but through fear of his life and they further say, said Walter Ogilvy's elder brother is now in His Majesty's service on board one of His Majesty's ships of war and the

deponents further say that the said Walter's father is now steward to Col: Abercrombie M.P. for the county of Banff and his principles are well known not only to the said Col: but also to the Right Hon. the Earl of Findlater and these deponents further say that they were present sometime in the month of Sept: last after Sir John Cope had left Banff and saw a party of Glenbucket's highlanders come to the said Ogilvy's father's house in quest of the said Ogilvy, who they there seized and holding a pistol to his breast and with their swords drawn, the said rebels forced him away from his said father's house notwithstanding the said Ogilvy with tears in his eyes earnestly begged and prayed they would let him alone, and not force him along with them which they refused to do, and these deponents followed them at a little distance, during which time they saw the said Ogilvy in the greatest grief and unwillingness to go and that they were informed and believed the reason the said rebels forced the said Ogilvy was expecting that the men upon his father's lands would be induced to follow him, and that the said rebels said to these deponents they would force out the gentlemen of the country and then they could get the meaner people, such as these deponents, when they had a mind, and these deponents further say that the said rebels did afterwards set fire to the said Walter Ogilvy's father's house because he and his tennants and servants had left their houses to avoid being forced away in the manner the said Ogilvy was, and that these deponents were so apprehensive of the said rebels forcing them in like manner that they left their houses in the night and hid themselves in the rocks, and these deponents further say they were served with subpœnas upon the 15th day of July last at the Miln of Alva in the shire of Banff, aforesaid, being 120 Scotch miles north of Edinburgh and having two large ferries, one 7 miles broad and the other 2 miles on their way to London and that they set out upon the 16th day of July being the day after they wer served aforesaid and got to London upon Sunday last the 3rd instant and not sooner, and that they travelled all the way upon foot, not having money to provide themselves with horses, and that in order to be upon the 25th of July last, for

which time they were summoned, these deponents did some days walk 36 and other days 40 measured miles, that they only rested one day (which was of a Sunday) during the whole journey.

GEORGE CAY.
ROBERT GRAY."

Sworn the 9th of August 1746.
Before M. Foster.[1]

The execution, however, proceeded as ordered. During the interval that preceded it, Ogilvie sometimes asserted that "he was deceived by the Duke of Perth and the gentleman that styled himself the French Ambassador,[2] who also assured him that all Prince Charles' party were entitled to the benefit of the Cartel settled at Frankfort, if they should happen to be made prisoners, which assurance made him in the council of war propose to surrender Carlisle: and that he desired life, only that he might go against the French King, who by his emissaries, had seduced him and many of his neighbours into the rebellion." On 19th August the warrant of execution arrived and the prisoners were removed from Newgate to the county gaol. Previous to this they had lived "in a thoughtless jovial manner," but finding themselves under sentence of death, "they began to be more serious, tho' they continued stedfast in the principles which ruined them." Early in the morning of 22nd August, having been "unchained from the floor, they were brought into the foreyard of the gaol, where their irons were knocked off." They were then "all three drawn on one sledge," Macdonald and Nicholson[3] in Highland, Ogilvie in Lowland dress, to the place of execution on Kennington Common, where they spent nearly an hour at their devotions. Ogilvie read, from Kettlewell, "a prayer for a person who is

[1]Lord Findlater had also written a half-hearted letter to the Duke of Newcastle "hoping the lad Ogilvie will not be executed, as he believes his father to be a zealous Whig." It is probable that the careful Colonel Abercromby would not have retained in his service any man who was not!

[2]The Marquis d'Eguilles.

[3]These two were not from our two counties.

condemned for the testimony of God's truth and righteousness." He also delivered a paper to the officer of the guards. None of them spoke to the crowd. After the halters were fixed to the gallows, the prisoners again prayed for a few minutes before they were executed. "Ogilvie died very hard, being a robust young man." After having hung for 15 minutes (although the order ran "to be hanged by the neck—but not till they be dead —for they must be cut down alive") they were all three taken down and laid on the stage, their bodies cut open and their hearts and bowels taken out and "burnt before their faces" in a fire, and then their heads were cut off. Their heads and bodies, having been taken back in the sledge to the New Gaol, were delivered to their friends two days later, and on the evening of 26th August were conveyed in three hearses, attended by mourning coaches, and were interred in one grave in what was then called "Bloomsbury new burying ground."

Oliphant, Charles, Excise Officer, Aberdeen.

Not included in the lists sent up by the Officers of Excise, as he was not then in custody. He was an officer in Lord John Drummond's regiment. This information he himself gave to Captain Eyre when brought to London. There is no record of when or where he was taken prisoner, but he was "admitted to the New Gaol, Southwark, *alone,* on 21st August 1746."

The evidence at his trial showed that he was with the Jacobites at Holyrood in October 1745. The witness, Wm. McGhie,[1] said he had known Oliphant twenty years and that he had been an Officer in the Excise in Aberdeen and afterwards at Inverness. When seen at Holyrood he was wearing a white cockade and a sword, and was said to be waiting for the arrival from France of Lord John Drummond's regiment, in which he had been promised a commission. Witnesses on his own side stated that until seven years ago he had been a servant to the Lord Lyon and had been *forced* into the

[1] A man of "very bad character," whose testimony was sometimes rejected even by the Government.

Jacobite army, but this was not proved. He was known to have been present at Falkirk, Stirling and Culloden.

He was convicted of High Treason on 20th December 1746. On 11th February following the Privy Council reprieved all the others sentenced on the same day, leaving Oliphant only for execution, but next day he also was reprieved.

On 15th August 1747 he makes a complaint that "his wife is denied access to him, who is now under reprieve, confined in the back part of the Gaol at Southwark unless she pay the Gaoler 1/- a time. He begs to be relieved from this unsupportable cruelty, one shilling being frequently all she is mistress of for his support." The gaoler denied that this was so, and retaliated by complaining of Oliphant for behaving in a disorderly manner with Walter Mitchell and others. Another complaint made by Oliphant and some others was that those who could not pay were kept in the back regions of the prison, where the air was more dank and fetid than in the forepart. (P.R.O.)

It was apparently quite true that Oliphant had been a servant to the Lord Lyon, who made great efforts to secure his release but in vain. Some of Brodie's statements are at variance with the other information. The following letters from him are in the Scottish State Papers:—

To Andrew Stone—August 21, 1747.

"Sir,

As I find by the papers that the Government have discharged several of the condemned Rebels, I hope you will pardon me to beg of you to make my respectful compliments to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and acquaint him that I earnestly entreat he may discharge out of confinement my old servant, Charles Oliphant, who being married to a Drummond was debauched by his wife to accept of Lord John Drummond's offers of making him an officer in his Regt. and he never officiated as an officer of excise, as the Evidence at his trial said. I did ask the Commissioners of Excise to make him one, and he was accordingly instructed, but he never had any employment, nor received a shilling of

the King's money, nor had he time to doe it. For the Commrs. of Excise granted me the promise of employing him only in June or July 1745, and in August thereafter the rebellion began. I have only further to say in mitigation of his crime that he never was in any action.[1] Therefore I beg he may be included among the number of those to be discharged without transportation and I think after the assurances he has given me of his repentance that I may answer for his loyalty in the future.

ALEX. BRODIE, Lord Lyon."

On 3rd September Brodie writes again to Stone, enclosing a letter from Oliphant complaining of the brutality of his "Gaoler," and that he has only 4d. per diem to live on. Brodie adds:—"It were much better he had been hanged and put out of pain, than to be kept to dye a lingering death in an unhealthy prison. I therefore beg to put you in mind once more of him."

A still later and much aggrieved letter from Brodie states that the Duke of Newcastle had said he could not pardon Oliphant without the consent of the Duke of Cumberland. This had been obtained, whereupon Newcastle demanded an autograph letter from Cumberland, and, the latter being abroad, a letter could not be procured! Meantime Oliphant was on the verge of transportation.

Later, Oliphant joins in the petition of those who have been 2 years and 7 months in prison that they "may be allowed to leave the Gaol occasionally, upon giving proper security for their return"; no answer was vouchsafed.

He was pardoned conditionally on banishment to America in September 1748, and eventually went there in the following year.

Paterson, Hercules, Surgeon, Keith.

In Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels he is mentioned as a "Surgeon and a discharged officer of Excise," who had "acted as an officer in the Rebel Army, was concerned in levying contributions at Keith and gave orders

[1]Possibly Brodie wrote in ignorance.

to the heritors to pay their cess." He lived in Keith, where, apparently, he carried on his profession of a surgeon.

The only details that are known about him are contained in a letter written from Arndilly, 2nd January 1746, by Thomas Grant of Achoynany to Ludovick Grant of Grant. He is referring to the Battle of Inverury, and writes:—"Some of them (Jacobies) who dwell in Strathisla came home and seed their families, particularly Dr. Paterson, who frankly own'd if the handfull of McLudes who were engaged at Inverury had stood but five minutes longer, in that case their men, viz. the rebells, would have run away. He further said that, except by the few of Lord John Drummond's regiment and the gentlemen, no execution was done, and that they lost a great many of their men crossing the water of Inverury; that the Strathbogie and Buchan and other recruits, instead of fighting, fell on their own baggage and plundered it. He did not deny that he himself lay in a ditch during the firing."

From this can be gathered that Hercules Paterson was not an ardent soldier. Nothing else is known about him except that in July 1746 he was "lurking."

Petrie, James, Sheriff-Substitute, Aberdeen.

In the List of Rebels furnished by David Stuart, Supervisor of Excise at Aberdeen, James Petrie appears as "Shirrif Depute, Aberdeen. Aided and assisted the Rebels in all their meetings at Aberdeen; proclaimed the Pretender and levyed money for the Rebels, particularly in the county of Ross." He was an advocate of Aberdeen, having been apprenticed to Thomas Burnet in 1722. He joined the local bar in 1743, and was Procurator-Fiscal of Aberdeenshire from 19th May 1743 to 8th May 1744, when he was appointed Sheriff-Substitute. The last deed ascertained to have been lodged before him in his official capacity, previous to the arrival of the Jacobites in Aberdeen, is dated 23rd September 1745. Two days later, John Hamilton having entered the town, seized James Morison, the Provost, and took him and two of the Baillies with some

of the councillors and forced them up on the Market Cross. Then, as Aberdeen Burgh Records relate, "James Petrie, did openly and with a loud voice, read the Pretender's manifestos and declarations over the said cross. Thereafter they caused wine to be brought to the cross where they openly and avowedly drunk the Pretender's health and severall other treasonable and rebellious healths, and endeavoured by force to make the said provost drink their healths, and which he refusing, they poured the wine down his breast, and caused the bells in the town to be rung." It is said that Petrie declared he was forced to act as he did, but as he afterwards joined the Jacobites more openly, it is difficult to believe this. Lord Albemarle, while reserving his judgment, declared him "to be a Jacobite at heart." Lord Lewis Gordon, writing from Huntly Castle, on 7th November 1745, to James Moir of Stoneywood at Aberdeen, says "Mr. Petrie, by the Prince's orders to me, is to be continued in his former employment," so he outwardly lost nothing by supporting the Stuart cause. It is said that Petrie joined the rebels under Lord Pitsligo, but he did not accompany them to Edinburgh. Though he took no active part in the Skirmish of Inverurie in December 1745, he was the cause of the arrest of Mr. Maitland of Pitrichie, a well-known Hanoverian supporter in Aberdeenshire. It is related in W. B. Blaikie's "Origins of the Forty-Five" that "Maitland had escaped to Keith Hall, the house of the Earl of Kintore, the night of the battle where he concealed himself all next day, but unluckily venturing to show himself to Petry, the Sheriff Depute, who intruded himself that night on the Earl, and Mr. Maitland and he squabbling over drink, Petry not only in violation of the laws of hospitality, and of many obligations he was under to the Earl of Kintore, but also of his own promise to the contrary, basely went off next morning and sent a party of rebels who seized him." All of which does not show the Sheriff-Substitute of Aberdeenshire in a very favourable light. After this it does not appear that Petrie did anything else very outstanding on behalf of the Jacobite cause. It seems that he remained in the north during the whole of the Rising and carried on his

duties, such as they then were, as Sheriff-Substitute, on the Prince's behalf. Apparently he made at least one journey to Ross-shire for the purpose of levying money for the Jacobites. Petrie went into hiding for a time after the '45, but as he was not specially excluded from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747, he was able to reappear and, strange to relate, to resume his practice at the Aberdeen bar, which he did by again taking the oath of allegiance on 14th April 1748. He must have had some strong influence to support him, as is hinted by the Rev. John Bisset, who writes on 3rd July 1747:—"I have this day seen a glance of the Act of Indemnity. They who have born civil offices in cities or corporations are excepted, but I question if such as our Sheriff Petry will be excepted." He married Elizabeth Jamieson (who died at Aberdeen 21st March 1770, in her 71st year), and had 1 son and 1 daughter. James Petrie died at Aberdeen 19th October 1763, in his 61st year.

Pitsligo, Lord.

Alexander (Forbes), 4th and last Lord Forbes of Pitsligo (generally called Lord Pitsligo in contemporary accounts of the Rising), was the only son and heir of Alexander, 3rd Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, and his wife, Sophia (Erskine), daughter of the Earl of Mar.

Lord Pitsligo was born 24th May 1678 and educated in France, where he became the friend of Fénélon; by him he was introduced to the famous Quietest Madame Guyon, whose mystical religion appealed strongly to Pitsligo. His father died in 1690, and in May 1700 Lord Pitsligo returned from France and took his seat in the Scottish Parliament. In 1705 he protested against the Union and did not attend the Session of Parliament in which that measure was passed, but retired to Pitsligo Castle. The original keep or square tower of this place is supposed to have been built early in the 15th century, the walls being 9 feet thick and 114 high, divided into three stories. The accommodation consisted of three rooms, the lowest floor was the kitchen 12 feet high, the second was the eating room 20 feet high, and the third floor formed the sleeping room for the whole family, and

had in it 24 beds! But by the time of the 4th Lord Pitsligo, considerable additions had been made to the castle.

He joined Lord Mar in 1715 and was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, after which he escaped to the continent, and was living in Leyden in 1718. In September of that year he was at Vienna attending to the interests of the Old Chevalier. Altogether he spent 3 years abroad, partly at the Court of St. Germains, but, his name not having appeared in the list of attainders, he was allowed to return to Scotland in 1720 and lived quietly at Pitsligo Castle, where he devoted himself to literature and the study of the religious writers, with whose works he had become acquainted on the continent. In 1730 he published "Essays Moral and Philosophical on several subjects." During this time he was distinguished by his hospitality and kindness to his neighbours, as well as by his charity to the poor and goodwill to everyone. He married, firstly, Rebecca, the daughter of John Morton, by whom he had a son John, Master of Pitsligo. The bill for her mortcloth was paid in July 1731. He married, secondly (in September of the same year), Elizabeth Allen, an English lady, who died without issue 1759. She had been companion of his first wife. Shortly after the landing of Prince Charles, Lord Pitsligo, at the advanced age of 67, decided to support the Stuart cause, and being considered a man of excellent judgment and of cautious and prudent mind, his example drew many of his neighbours into the Rising. It is related of him that when going about Buchan, he called one day at the house of Memsie to try and prevail upon the owner to join the Jacobite army, and being about to mount his horse, a child brought out a stool to help him. This his lordship described as a severe rebuke to him for having dared at his age to embark in the Rising. He confessed that he joined without enthusiasm, from a considered fidelity to the house of Stuart!

Lord Pitsligo met his friends at Aberdeen, forming a body of volunteer cavalry, composed of gentlemen and their servants, estimated to number from 100 to 200, and later considerably more. His arrival in Aberdeen is

thus chronicled in the Diary of the Rev. John Bisset, under date 5th October 1745:—"Lord Pitsligo came here on Sabbath last; went from us on Tuesday horse and foot, and many of them boys, not one hundred and fifty, or not above that number." When they were drawn up Lord Pitsligo moved to the front, lifted his hat, and said:—"Oh Lord thou knowest that our cause is just," and then, "March, Gentlemen."

On his arrival on 9th October in Edinburgh, he was greeted with enthusiasm. "It seemed," said Hamilton of Bangour, "as if Religion, Virtue and Justice were entering the camp under the appearance of this venerable old man: and what would have given sanction to a cause of the most dubious right could not fail to render sacred the very best." John Murray of Broughton describes Lord Pitsligo as "a little thin fair man, a great scholar and fond of study. Of the primitive Stamp and fitter to have been a martyr in the days of Nero than to live in the age of villany and corruption. He is the deservedly most popular man in the country not beloved but adored, the best father, the best friend and the best S-bj-t in Britain." In his letters concerning Jacobite matters, Lord Pitsligo always alluded to Prince Charles as "the amiable young Stranger."

Pitsligo took part in the whole campaign, and during the retreat from Derby Prince Charles insisted on the old man using his own carriage in order to save him some of the discomforts of the march. On the division of the army on its way north after Falkirk, Lord Pitsligo accompanied Lord George Murray and that portion which took the eastern road by Aberdeen. Bisset's Diary for 7th February 1746 says "the gentry are always passing through here. I am pretty well informed that last night not under 100 horse passed through the old town and through this place this day; the great Lord Pitsligo came this night." He was then made Governor of Elgin, was present at Culloden, and after that event began the series of wanderings and hairbreadth escapes which have made his name so famous. It is not known how he managed to escape after the defeat, but he certainly passed through Elgin on his return to Aberdeenshire, and with William Cumine of Pitullie,

Alexander Irvine of Drum and Thomas Mercer of Aberdeen, found refuge there in the house of William King of Newmill, Mrs. King waiting upon them and making their beds, lest information should be carried out of doors.[1] From Elgin Lord Pitsligo probably wandered down Speyside, crossed the uplands of Banffshire, and, entering Aberdeenshire, passed down Glen Gairn. In Bisset's Diary for 22nd April 1746 it is stated that "Lord Pitsligo lodged at Bridge of Gairn on Friday night; he went by Craigvar on Saturday, lodged in some friendly house of his own on Don Side; others say he was seen at Lumphanan on Sabbath." From this it may be gathered that Lord Pitsligo had not then thought it necessary to disguise himself. Eventually he reached Pitsligo and saw his wife, who was still living there. She provided him with a disguise and he left his home to lie concealed on the neighbouring hill of Mormond, whence he was able to watch the movements of the troops sent out to search for him; being often much distressed by the lapwings who flew about him and thereby tended to reveal his retreat. Often he sought shelter amongst his own tenants in the moors of Pitsligo on the Buchan coast, and, although the people were very poor, they freely shared with him their scanty food. The arch of the old bridge at Craigmaud, about 9 miles from Fraserburgh, was an occasional place of concealment and also the obscure cave of Cowshaven. This is about 2 miles west from Rosehearty on the farm of Ironhill in the parish of Aberdour; it lies in a bay near Quarryhead and is still called "Lord Pitsligo's cave." It is very difficult of access, being midway down the face of the rock. After passing through a narrow entrance and two smaller openings a large chamber is reached, with a spring of water issuing from the rock and falling into a cistern cut out by the hands of Lord Pitsligo, who thus relieved the weariness of many long days spent in this cheerless retreat.

Occasionally he made flying visits to his wife at Pitsligo Castle (as it was not then occupied by the

[1]It is said that the Duke of Perth was also concealed in William King's house.

Government), being dressed in beggar's rags. His disguise did not deceive his friends or his tenants, but saved him from the soldiers, who were anxious to secure him, as he was attainted and his estate was said to be worth £400. Once when walking on the road he was seized by a bad attack of asthma just as a party of soldiers overtook him. He sat down by the side of the road as they approached, and in the true beggar's whine asked for alms, which they gave him and condoled with him on the violence of his affliction. On another occasion, rumours having reached the authorities that Lord Pitsligo some times concealed himself in a cave by the sea, he being then in the house of a cobbler, some soldiers came to the house to ask for a guide to the cave. The cobbler's wife said she had no one to send "unless that travelling man would take the trouble." The beggar (Lord Pitsligo) at once consented and conducted them to his own cave. He then retired and watched their proceedings from an adjacent hill. One evening when he was sleeping in the house of a tenant, a troop of cavalry suddenly descended upon the place. The soldiers strictly interrogated Lord Pitsligo himself, and he even assisted them in their investigations of the house by carrying a lantern, for which trouble he received a shilling.

Having been attainted of High Treason under the name of Lord Pitsligo, he endeavoured to obtain a reversal of the attainder on account of the misnomer, his true title being Lord Forbes of Pitsligo. The Court of Session on 16th November 1749 gave a judgment in his favour, which was, however, reversed by the House of Lords 1st February 1750.

Gradually the search for him became less keen, and after 1750 he retired to the house of Auchiries, his only son the Master of Pitsligo, who had married James Ogilvie's daughter Rebecca, being in residence there. But all idea of catching Lord Pitsligo was not abandoned, and on the last occasion that a search was made for him his escape was remarkable. One night in March 1756, information having reached the Commanding Officer at Fraserburgh that Lord Pitsligo was

then at Auchiries, a party was sent to apprehend him. On that night Mrs. Sophia Donaldson, a lady who often stayed with the family, repeatedly dreamed that the house was surrounded by soldiers. Getting out of bed, as day began to dawn, she looked out of the window and was astonished to see some soldiers among the trees near the house. At first she thought they had merely come to steal the poultry (a common habit of the Hanoverian troops of those days!), but her sister having awakened and being told of the presence of the soldiers, exclaimed in great alarm that she feared they wanted "something more than hens!" She told Mrs. Sophia to look out of the window on the other side of the house, when not only more soldiers were seen, but also an officer giving instructions by signal and frequently putting his fingers to his lips as if commanding silence. The family was instantly aroused, and Lord Pitsligo was hurried from his bed to an adjoining room and concealed in a small recess behind the wainscot, which was at the back of the bed in which then slept a Miss Gordon of Towie, at that time staying at Auchiries. The soldiers entered the house and a most careful search from room to room took place. Finally they reached the room in which Lord Pitsligo was concealed. Miss Gordon's bed was minutely examined, and one of the soldiers actually felt her chin to make sure that she was not a man in a lady's night-dress! When the soldiers were in this room, the confinement and anxiety increased Lord Pitsligo's asthma to such an extent that Miss Gordon lying in bed had to cough violently in order to prevent the loud breathing behind the wainscot from being heard. Eventually the soldiers, satisfied that Lord Pitsligo was not in the house, departed, and he was removed from his awkward confinement and once more placed comfortably in his bed. As soon as he could speak, his kindness of heart made him say to his servant:—"James, go and see that the poor fellows get some breakfast and a drink of warm ale, for this is a cold morning, they are only doing their duty and cannot bear me any ill-will." When the family were congratulating each other on his escape he remarked, "a poor prize had they obtained it; an old dying man."

In his seclusion at Auchiries, Lord Pitsligo wrote several religious essays, which were published after his death. One of these, entitled "Thoughts concerning Man's Condition and Duties in this Life and his Hopes in the World to come," with a biographical sketch by his kinsman, Lord Medwyn, was published at Edinburgh in 1835.

Lord Pitsligo died 21st December 1762, aged 84, and was buried in the family vault of the old church of Pitsligo, which still stands, though a new church has been built close by, in which is preserved the magnificent old carved pew of the Pitsligo family, removed from the older church.

The house of Auchiries is now a ruin, having been allowed to fall into decay about 100 years ago. Pitsligo Castle is also a ruin. Having been seized by the Government in 1749 it was ordered to be sold, and in 1759 it was bought by Alexander Garden of Troup. Shortly after this the castle was unroofed and allowed to go to ruin. In 1788 the estates of Pitsligo were bought by Sir William Forbes, the banker, and the property now belongs to Lord Clinton.

Lord Pitsligo is said to have served Sir Walter Scott in some measure as a model for the Baron of Bradwardine, but he had none of the vanities and eccentricities which disfigure that character.

Ramsay, Alexander, Merchant, Rosehearty.

In Lord Rosebery's List he appears as "Alexander Ramsay, Merchant, Rosartie, Pitsligo Joined himself to the Rebel army, £300 worth of stock." There is a reference to Alexander Ramsay in the Diary of the Rev. John Bisset, where, under date 7th January 1746, he says:—"I hear of one Ramsay, in Roshartie, who had a post in one of Pitsligo's troops, who went through this town some few days ago, and had escaped from the rout in England, who gives out as if all were lost, and a sad dispersion among the Pretender's men." Of the subsequent fate of Alexander Ramsay nothing is known, but in the Commissariot Record of Wills of Aberdeen

this entry appears:—"Alexander Ramsay, Merchant, in Rosehearty and Barbara Ramsay there his sister, 4 December 1792."

Ramsay, George, is one of the Aberdeenshire Jacobites not mentioned in Rosebery's List of Rebels.

He was, however, one of the 18 Scots officers who surrendered at Carlisle 30th December 1745, being described as an "Ensign in the Duke of Perth's Regiment." He appears in the list prepared by Mr. Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury, of rebel prisoners under sentence of death among "Those of a lower degree than the preceding (i.e., the Gentlemen), but above the rank of Common men. When he entered into the Rebellion he was a turner in Strathbogie. He is a low man and has no estate." In another document, Ramsay is described as a wheelwright, but he was not an ordinary artisan, as he claimed to be a French subject, a "faiseur de roues," and the Venetian ambassador wrote a letter on his behalf.

He was carried to London with the rest of the officers of the Carlisle garrison, and brought to trial at Southwark in August 1746.

He himself states that he was too poor to bring witnesses from Strathbogie in his own defence, but Thomas Innes, J.P., and John Innes, J.P., wrote:—"It is strenuously testified before us at Grange on 27 August 1746 that George Ramsay, Wheelwright in Strathbogie, taken prisoner at Carlisle and now prisoner at London, was a sober and well-inclined honest man, that middled with nothing but his own trade for supporting himself, wife and family, till such time as Glenbucket and others, with ane armed Highland force, came to Strathbogie and threatened all that country with fire and sword, if they would not join them in that wicked and unnatural rebellion, and then the said George Ramsay was forced to leave his wife and children, and join that unhappy sett of men in that wicked rebellion. It is likeways asserted before us that after the said George Ramsay had joyned, he behaved himself civily, without molesting any person either in their persons or means. All which

is attested by several persons near and in Strathbogie, well affected to his Majestie's Government."

One of the witnesses at the trial states that George Ramsay was carried off, bound and struggling, "from his crying wife, big with child." He himself says:—"When I was brought into England, I was obliged to stay with the rebels for to save my life, for I had neither the language of the country nor the habits,[1] and if I had offered to make my escape, the country people would have knocked me on the head, and had I endeavoured to escape to the Duke's army, they would not have believed my intentions, but would have hanged me for a spy." He begs to be recommended to mercy. The force which drove him into rebellion having been proved, he was "pardoned upon condition of transportation," and was removed from prison to the house of Mr. Dick, the Messenger, on the 4th of September 1747. It was at this period that the Venetian ambassador intervened, and requested that having been released from prison, Ramsay might now return home.

Some months later, Ramsay himself petitions again—saying he is the "only one," presumably of those tried on the same day with him, still left in Messenger's hands, undischarged, and begs to be granted a free pardon, that he may return to his wife and young family. He seems, however, to have been eventually transported in 1748.[2]

Reid, Robert, Junior, of Barra.

"A rebel officer at Inverury Skirmish and one of those that apprehended Mr. Maitland of Pitrichie." The details of this affair are given under James Petrie.[3]

Robert Reid was a son of Sir Alexander Reid, 2nd Baronet, of Barra, and his wife Agnes, eldest daughter

[1]I.e., clothes.

[2]Charles Ramsay, senior, and Charles Ramsay, junior, both described as Wheelwrights in Strathbogie, were imprisoned in Aberdeen in May 1746 "by order of Mr. Bruce, Judge Advocate, who can inform of their crime."—(Aberdeen Burgh Records.) This was obviously complicity in the Rebellion, and they were probably *relations* of George above.

[3]See page 377.

of Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Bart., of Forglen. They had 4 sons, Alexander, James, Robert and William, and 2 daughters, Helen and Barbara. Robert Reid was an apprentice to a merchant in Aberdeen, and at the time of the making up of the Rebel List it was not known where he was. Lord Sempill writes to Lord Albemarle at Aberdeen on 21st August 1746, that he had been approached by Sir Alexander Reid, who had a son about eighteen years of age, an apprentice in Aberdeen, who had been "unhappily seduced to go with the Rebels to Inverurie." Lord Sempill adds that as Sir Alexander Reid was well-affected to the Government and had taken his boy home, he desires orders as to what he should do about Robert Reid. Probably the matter was allowed to drop.

Ross, James, Senior.

"James Ross, Senr. Sheriff Officer. Aberdeen. Carried arms the whole Rebellion and is now prisoner at Inverness." (Rosebery.)

Charles Gordon of Blelack, writing to James Moir of Stoneywood from the Mill of Gellan on 14th December 1745, says:—"I am just now sending a part of our men off to Aberdeen with a line to Mr. Ross, who will give yow an exact list of their numbers, and receive pay for them, as he does for those that was formerly sent."

This man was a witness against the Rev. George Law (q.v.), and also against Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie.

Ross, James, Junior.

"James Ross, Junior" (son of James Ross, Senior), "a boy, Aberdeen. Acted as a Drummer for the Rebels, now prisoner at Inverness." Later, in Lord Rosebery's List, he is described as "Cooper-Apprentice."

With his father he was a witness against the Rev. George Law, who, however, in the face of all evidence was acquitted. The two Rosses must have turned King's evidence to save their skins, as they would otherwise not have been taken to London, their services to the Jacobite army having been slight.

Sandilands, Robert, Writer, Aberdeen, was of the Craibstone family.

(This was not the Robert Sandilands who appears in the "History of the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen" by John A. Henderson.) In the "Origins of the Forty-Five" it is stated that "Mr. Sandilands and several gentlemen of the lower class from that place" (Aberdeen) joined Lord Pitsligo, and that "Mr. Sandilands only raised a company of Foot." He seems to have gone to Edinburgh in the autumn of 1745, and had a company in the Duke of Perth's regiment. He was with the Jacobite army in its advance to Derby and on its subsequent retreat to the north. Bisset in his Diary says that Robert Sandilands was back in Aberdeen early in 1746, and that he came in from the south, accompanied by his kinsman, Patrick Byres of Tonley, Charles Moir, William Moir of Lonmay and others. In Rosebery's List Robert Sandilands is given as a "Captain in the Rebel Service, was in England, Falkirk and Culloden, and now in the Highlands. Lurking."

For some time after Culloden he was in Sweden along with Moir of Stoneywood and other Jacobites.

Patrick Byres, writing from Paris to James Moir, says:—

"I had a letter from Robie Sandilands two or three posts ago, to which I wrote him ane answer the 23rd ulto. wt. my thoughts anent what he should do, which I see no reasons hitherto to alter. Please remember me to him and tell him that I have gott him mark'd down as a Capt. in a list they are just now making up to be given in to the Court, but when it will be given in or when pay'd is very uncertain. Had he wrote a post sooner, he had been on a list now given in, and which will, I believe, be soon pay'd. He wrote me your Lady was come over, I hope she is well; please remember me to her."

Sandilands survived the troubles and ultimately married Isabella, daughter of Patrick Byres of Tonley. (She died without issue, having been killed by a fall from a carriage.)

Robert Sandilands had a younger brother—

Sandilands, Bartholomew, who also escaped to Bergen in 1746, as recorded in a list in the State Papers.

He is there called "Bartholomew Sandilands, younger (of Bordeaux—son to the merchant)," and reached Bergen in the same ship with Lord Ogilvie, 24th May 1746. Nothing is known of his activities during the Rising. He was probably very young.

Scott, George, Town Clerk of Inverurie.

Does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List. He was the son of George Scott and Margaret Ferguson, eldest daughter of Baillie Walter Ferguson of Inverurie. The elder Scott was Town Clerk of Inverurie from 1681 to 1729, and his son George succeeded him in that office in 1736, but had to relinquish it in 1750, and, "ruined in means, left Inverurie for the Mill of Aden," where he died in 1789. He was certainly a Jacobite, though it is doubtful if he served as a soldier; his sympathies were with Prince Charles, and he was quite prepared to deliver up arms for the cause, as is shown in his letter to James Moir of Stoneywood. His behaviour must have been equivocal and aroused suspicion, for he was taken prisoner at Inverurie on 6th April 1746 and placed in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, where he remained for some months and was finally discharged on 6th March 1747. Family influence undoubtedly saved him. Walter Ferguson of Inverurie (probably a cousin) wrote a letter in 1746, making uncomplimentary reference to George Scott, Town Clerk of Inverurie, and his ingratitude "to those who saved him from having to make a journey to Carlisle" in that year.

The following letter sheds some light on Scott's behaviour during the Rising:—

"The Town Clerk of Inverury to the Laird of Stonywood.

To the Honourable Mr. Moor of Stoniewood, Esq.

Sir,

As you have the command of the forces at Aberdeen, at the desire of our magistrates, presumes this freedom to advise you that on Wednesday last, one William Smith of Mr. Anderson's men, that past here,

as he tould, express to Lord Lewis Gordon, called for a horse to cary him to Strath Bogie, which was procured him on promises to pay hire. He returned again Friday night with the horse, but as the horse was pressed for his use made the man a little more nice in reciving him again, being informed that he was overroad, untill he should be sighted, and damnadge as weel as the hire payed. But Smith pretended that the Servant (who was also presed to goe along with the horse) had listed with him, to whome he had given a shilling of Countie money, had diserted him, therefor disired that the magistrites might pay the horse hyre out of his effects, and the ballance to come in token, and threatned the poor man to ruine him, on these terms; but causd value the horse, and the damnadge, with the hire, was estimate at ten shillings sterling, which is too much for a poor man (that has nothing but this beast to win his bread) to lose, and humblie flatters their selves youl approve thereof, and take such a prudent method in ordering the poor man restitution as you find convenient. This morning, Mr. Taylor, with a command of the same men, cam here in search of arms, attacked Bailie Ferguson's house. When I and some others asked libertie to pass their centrie, used their weapons in the most unmercifull way, so that it's with the greatest pain I write you this: the baillie him selfe struck, beat, and blooded. His wife and familie is so surprised, that I cannot express their present condition. It is belived this method will not be indulged, and expects youl be so good to transmit us such a writ as may prevent such abusis in the future. And the baillies howse was rummadged too and froe, though we offered them a generall search of the place, as we lie on the road twixt the north and Aberdeen: expects youl be so generows to give such orders, and write to me here that this hostill manner may be prevented in the future. Excuse freedom, and believe me to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

GEORGE SCOTT.

Inverury, 2nd December 1745.

Shall expect your answier in course."

"Baillie Ferguson" was the uncle of George Scott.

Scott, John, "Sailor, Aberdeen. Carried arms at Falkirk, Inverury and Culloden, and though scarce better than a boy, was very active in distressing the Inhabitants of Aberdeen where he is now in prison." (Rosebery.)

This is no doubt the same boy to whom allusion was made in the trial of the Rev. George Law (though he is there called "Thomas Scott his stepson, a Lieut. in Stoneywood"). "John Scot, Mariner, son-in-law to Mr. Law the nonjuring parson," is referred to in the Aberdeen Burgh Records under date 23rd April 1746, where his father is given as Robert Scott, deceased, merchant in Edinburgh. It must, therefore, be presumed that the Rev. George Law married Robert Scott's widow.

John was a prisoner in the Tolbooth of Aberdeen on the 8th of August 1746, and was afterwards removed to Carlisle and then to York Castle. He was found guilty and sentenced to death, but reprieved and transported to Antigua.

Sharp, William, occurs in Lord Rosebery's List as "Gentleman, St. Andrews. Carried arms in the Rebel Service, is but a very young man and Influenced by bad company—now Prisoner at Stirling."

This boy (he was only 16), though entered among the prisoners from Fife, really belonged to Banffshire, as he was the great-grandson of the famous Archbishop Sharp. His name occurs in the list of "prisoners under sentence of death who appear to be really gentlemen," compiled by the Solicitor to the Treasury. "William Sharpe Esq. was one of the Gentlemen in the Pretender's Life Guards. He is about 18 years of age. His father was a merchant and he is grandson to Archbishop Sharp." (This was an error—he was grandson to Sir William Sharp, the Archbishop's son.) "He is said to be a young gentleman of a very modest behaviour, and his Majesty's Council who attended the trial, and Mr. Webb the Solicitor, all join in pointing him out as one they hoped his Majesty would pardon."

One wonders what motive for mercy the blood-thirsty Mr. Philip Carteret Webb could have had in this solitary instance. He was all for severity in every other case, including that of poor Richard Morison, the Edinburgh Wigmaker, who had been carried along with Prince Charles in order to dress his hair. Mr. Webb was also responsible for the savage suggestion that all those Rebels, who were "pardoned on condition of banishment," should be branded in the face to preclude the possibility of return. The suggestion was not adopted, and it is known that many of them did so return.

No stone was left unturned by William Sharp's family and friends to secure his release, and to prove his extreme youth they not only produced, as in the case of Robert Forbes of Newe, a copy of his baptismal register, but also a certificate signed by the doctor and the midwife!

Extract from Church Registers:—

"Mr. Alexander Sharp, son to the deceased Sir William Sharp of Stonyhill and Margaret Hamilton, daughter of Mr. Philip Hamilton of Kilbrackmount, his spouse, had a son born, called William, baptized by Mr. James Maurice on the 28th January 1729.

Certificates attached, signed before David Monypeny of Pitmillie and Harie Bethune, J.P.s, by Helen Campbell, midwife, and Dr. Simson, that they had attended the birth of the said child."

The Principal and Professors of St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, also testify that "when a student in the year 1745, William Sharp was a modest, assiduous boy, and though unluckily seduced, in Vacation time, to engage in the wicked rebellion, yet he still retained his usual modesty and, as if ashamed of his conduct, seldom or never appeared in this place either in arms or with a cockade. He is recommended as a very fit person for the exercise of His Majesty's clemency."

William Sharp's own petition "sheweth that it was your petitioner's misfortune, when but 16 years of age, to be seduced by the evil council and example of others of greater age and experience, to involve himself in the late unnatural and wicked rebellion against your

Majesty's sacred person and Government. He was only a few weeks in the company of the Rebels, when he was seized with a fever, whereupon he separated from them and being taken prisoner upon the 2nd of February 1746 was brought to Carlisle. He pleaded guilty upon his arraignment, confest his crime and threw himself upon your Majesty's Mercy."

A free pardon was granted to him on 20th August 1746, but before the news of this reached him, he and another prisoner named Robert Wright of Edinburgh had succeeded in escaping, and were not retaken.

Mr. Webb reported the escape, and states that he narrowly questioned the Carlisle jailer, who could only account for it by saying that there were many visitors to the prison on that day and that the two prisoners in question "went out by the door!" (P.R.O.)

Sharp, William.[1]

Another William Sharp, about whom we know nothing save that he came from Banffshire, is entitled to a place in the detailed list, by reason of the fact that a letter to him from his brother, while the army lay near Edinburgh, was found in the same bundle of Jacobite correspondence already several times alluded to:—

State Papers, Dom. Scot. 36.

"To William Sharp in Capt. David Tulla's company.

Mortlauch, Oct. 22, 1745.

Dear Brother,

We received the comfortable news that you are in health and taking well with your post, but your parents is very discomfortable about you, which is the reason I came not up unto you and my inclinations is very bent that way. However my health, as you know, is in danger att home, but am noways worse than I was and I

[1]Although William Sharp, to whom this letter is addressed, was a *Banffshire* boy, it is just possible that he might be the same "Sharpe, William, aged 18, Labourer, Aberdeen, At Carlisle, Transported," in a list at the P.R.O., since the exact location of these northern villages was often unknown to the authorities in London.

hope if we both live till the spring I shall come to you, if not sooner, although you be at never so great a distance, for your absence is very disagreeable to me. And I advise you if it be possible for you to choos rather to stay in garrison in Scotland than go up to England; and if you want any necessary thing, if ye send us word we shall send it unto you and we have sent you a shirt from your sister. My Mother does earnestly desire you to return for her unspeakable joy and the joy of us all, being the greatest joy we can find upon earth. This is all att present except the kind wishes of all your friends and myself in particular.

Your tender and affectionate brother,
PAT SHARP."

Shaw, James, of Daldownie, Gairnside.

Not in Lord Rosebery's List, but is mentioned in the "Legends of the Braes of Mar." He was son of Duncan Shaw, portioner of Crathienaird, and acquired Daldownie about 1720. In 1745 he was a captain in the regiment raised by Lord Lewis Gordon and commanded by Farquharson of Monaltrie, who was his great friend. James Shaw fought at Preston, Falkirk and Culloden, and apparently came unscathed through the whole Rising. He was three times married, first to a daughter of John Young of Birkhill or Birkhall, by whom he had 2 sons (1) Duncan, who succeeded to Daldownie, and sold it in 1775, and (2) John, both out in the '45.

James Shaw's second wife was a daughter of Farquhar of Auchterfoull in the parish of Coull, and by her he had 4 daughters. The third wife was Margaret, daughter of Donald Farquharson of Micras, by whom he had 2 daughters and 2 sons—Donald and Alexander.

He died at Inverey on 19th February 1768, and was buried at Crathie.

In the Duke of Cumberland's List of those Rebels not yet taken who have good estates, that of "James Shaw of Daldowny" is mentioned as being of the annual value of £50. But in a list of ex-J.P.s of Aberdeenshire of 1747, he is crossed off as having "No Estate."

Shaw, Duncan, eldest son to the above James, was factor to the Earl of Airlie.

The only facts known about him or his activities in the Rising are contained in a somewhat mysterious letter from Alexander Robertson, London, to:

Mr. Charles Bog

Presbyterian preacher of the Gospel, at his house, near the Bridge of Gairn, in Marr, Aberdeenshire. 4 Dec. 1746, about apprehending "Duncan Shaw, late factor to the Earl of Airlie, by a scheme of Erse-speaking Highlanders who shall pretend to be rebels." The letter concludes:—"Be sure to burn or conceal this letter and keep the secret from all mortall, as you regard yourself and, dear sir

Your most humble servant,

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON."[1]

This was the same Alexander Robertson, Baron Reid, who was found interceding for the release of Francis Farquharson. The letter was probably handed by Mr. Bog to someone in authority, and thus preserved, but Duncan Shaw does *not* seem to have been apprehended.

Shaw, John, younger, of Daldownie.

The second son of James Shaw of Daldownie by his first wife was apparently a very zealous Jacobite and served as a captain in Prince Charles' army. From Crathie, on 3rd February 1746, he wrote the following letter addressed to "John Stewart in Kienetton (Rineton?) and John Symon in Delldownie." "You'll precisely be here tomorrow be day-light to march directly with us to Tullich, where we are to be tomorrow night, faileing that you will not come, you may assure yourself that I shall go up and visite you with a party to burn your Corns and house, and Drive away your Cattle, so that my humble Advice to you is, to Join your Company at this place to morrow be day light, and I shall be your friend, while I am

JOHN SHAW."

[1]P.R.O.

John Shaw came safely through the Rising, and in 1754 there was a complaint from some tenants of Monaltrie that they had been "in possession of their farms these severall years and always paid their rents punctually to the King's Factor, notwithstanding of which they are all just now warned to remove and a Process of Removeing carried on against them before the Sheriff of Aberdeen, in order to make room for John Shaw, son to James Shaw at Deldowny. John Shaw was a Rebell Captain, and James Shaw's behaviour and Conduct will speak for itself in the Course of the Tryall against Macdonald and Clerk for the Horrid murder of Sergeant Davis."

John Shaw afterwards lived at Glenisla, Forfarshire.

Smith, Alexander, of Menie, Belhelvie.

Nothing is known of the services of this Jacobite, and he only appears in the Rebel List as of "Meany, Belhelvie," which is described as a "good house," and the yearly rent is stated to have been £83 6s. 8d. In W. B. Blaikie's "Origins of the Forty-Five," it says that "not one gentleman (joined the Jacobites) from Fortmartine (Formartin) unless Mr. Smith of Menie be to be reckoned, who indeed appeared with them at Edinburgh but left them or they entered England." Alexander Smith was a member of the well-known Jacobite family of Smith of Inveramsay, being the son of Patrick Smith. The property of Menie, which had come to Alexander Smith through his mother, Elizabeth Kerr, subsequently passed into the hands of George Turner of the Turnerhall family.

Smith, Andrew, Junior, Inveramsay.

Does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List. He was a younger brother of Alexander Smith, just mentioned, and of David Smith, junior, of Inveramsay, and was the son of Patrick Smith and his wife, Elizabeth Kerr. She died in 1761, Patrick being already dead. Like several other members of his family he joined the Jacobite army, but he cannot have been with it for long, as in Bisset's

Diary for 2nd December 1745 we read that Smith, junior, of Inveramsay, was taken and was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. This statement has often caused confusion with his brother David. Andrew, when made prisoner, was serving in the regiment of Crichton of Auchingoul, and was described as being 31 years old and employed in husbandry near Old Meldrum. After his trial he was transported on 31st March 1747.

Smith, David, junior, of Inveramsay.

Is not mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List of Rebels. He was the eldest son of Patrick Smith of Inveramsay. David's father had died in 1743, but his grandfather, John Smith, was still alive at the time of the Jacobite Rising (he ultimately died in 1750, aged nearly 100), so David is described as junior, of Inveramsay.

Of his services in the '45 nothing is known except that "he was a Lieutenant and very active." (P.R.O.) But he must have been peculiarly obnoxious to the Government, as he was excepted from the Act of Indemnity of 1747. The value of his estate is given as £200 per annum. In Edinburgh, however, in October 1748 an "ignoramus" verdict was returned, so he escaped all penalties and probably returned safely to Inveramsay. He had, as has been seen, two brothers, Alexander and Andrew, out in the '45, also his brother-in-law Charles Hacket, who married Helen Smith. Besides Helen, David had 4 other sisters, Clementina, Janet, Marjory and Rachel.

Smith, Daniel, Merchant, Aberdeen.

Is entered in the Rebel List as "Formerly a sailor in Commodore Anson's Squadron: Acted as a Lieutenant in the Rebel Service and was at Inverury and Culloden Battle." Bisset in his Diary says on 21st January 1746, "Yesterday we were rejoicing on Prince Frederick's birth day, and this day, at three in the afternoon, our bells began to ring for a compleat victory obtained, by the rebels, over the King's troops."—(Battle of Falkirk 17th January.) "One Daniel Smith, a rebell merchant

here, they say comes from Perth with this account, adding that more than 3000 of the King's troops are killed, many taken prisoners, with their baggage and artillery." In an anonymous letter to James Urquhart of Byth, dated from Aberdeen 24th January 1746, there is the report that "Daniel Smith is here, beating up for recruits for his own company." On the 26th of the same month Daniel Smith was in command of a troop at the Bridge of Don and forced several men to go to Peterhead to unload the so called Spanish ship[1] in that harbour and return to Aberdeen as guard to the arms and ammunition taken out of that vessel. After Culloden, Daniel Smith was reported to be "lurking."

A *Donald* Smith, merchant in Aberdeen, was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity and a True Bill of High Treason was found at Edinburgh in October 1748 against an individual again described as "Donald Smith, merchant, in Aberdeen." It is thought that both these references must be to the man mentioned above, Donald being a mistake for Daniel, as no *Donald* Smith can be found in any of the Rebel Lists or other State Papers who made himself sufficiently obnoxious to the Government to have incurred this exclusion: and the well-known Scots name Donald might very easily have been substituted for Daniel by some English scribe. Frequent mistakes in names were made, and sometimes 3 or 4 aliases are given to make certain of the rebel in question, as for instance in the case of Alexander MacGrowther, otherwise called Robinson, Robison, etc.!

Smith, Peter, of Auchline, Clatt.

Is not mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List. The Smiths of Inveramsay and Auchline favoured the Jacobite cause, and Peter Smith of Auchline took the field for Prince Charles in the '45. Shortly before the Rising, he had married Annie Gordon, either a ward or in some way connected with the Wardhouse family, and the laird of Wardhouse presented Peter Smith with a sword. Tradition says that Wardhouse himself was

[1]See page 49.

inclined to support the Prince, and had made preparations to go "out" with his friends, Jonathan Forbes of Brux and John Lumsden of Ardhuncart, but that the Duke of Gordon dissuaded him. Peter Smith was killed at Culloden, and it is said his wife with some relatives went to look for her husband, but all they brought back was the steel basket of his sword cut in two places by terrific blows.

Steel, George, Merchant, Aberdeen.

According to the Rebel List he "assisted in landing a Spanish ship at Peterhead and was Substitute Governour of Aberdeen the time of the Inverury Skirmish." Apparently he compelled some of the peaceful inhabitants of Aberdeen (on their own evidence) to go to Peterhead and help in bringing arms from the ship that had come into that port.[1] The arms were safely brought to the Guardhouse of Aberdeen and delivered to the rebels. George Steel is described as "Lurking" after Culloden, but he was in reality a prisoner in Aberdeen in June 1746, and was later transferred to Carlisle, where he was tried in September, but having proved that he had surrendered in terms of Cumberland's proclamation, was acquitted.

Strachan, William, Clerk to the Customs, Aberdeen.

Appears to have been turned out of his post on joining the Jacobite forces, for in the List of Rebels he is described as "Late Clerk to the Comptroller of Customes, Aberdeen. Acted as Collector of Excise and Customs in Aberdeen for the Rebels and went north with them." He was probably the son of William Strachan, senior, merchant, Aberdeen, a keen Hanoverian, who died in 1746. In the Register Book of St. Paul's Episcopal Chapel, Aberdeen, there is the entry of a baptism on 23rd Oct. 1772. "William Strachan, merchant: son William." This is a child of William Strachan, Clerk to the Customs, who was a young man in the '45. He is described as "Lurking" after Culloden, and in the month

[1]See page 49.

of May had to find "Securities for his good behaviour under penalty of one hundred pounds sterling."—(Aberdeen Burgh Records.) In 1748 he was in Paris, and was granted 200 francs as a "gratification."[1]

There were several other "Officers of the Customs who were discharged for being concerned in the late Rebellion," namely:—

John Dalgetty, Tidesman, Aberdeen.
William Reid, Tidesman, Aberdeen.
Neil McKay, Tidesman, Aberdeen.

John Cumming, Collector of Excise at Aberdeen, is said to have "assisted the rebels in taking the 'Hazard' sloop, and to have accepted a place from the Duke of Perth. He was dismissed."[2]

Stewart, Alexander (also sometimes spelt **Stuart**), of Aucholzie, Glenmuick.

The Supervisor of Excise at Aberdeen in his List of Rebels returns him as "—— Steuart of Auchoily, Glenmuck. Carried arms the whole Rebellion, wounded at Culloden and since dead."

Alexander Stewart was the eldest son of William Stewart of Aucholzie and his wife, Euphame Farquharson, daughter of Harry Farquharson of Whitehouse, and sister of Harry Farquharson of Whitehouse Mill, who was killed at Culloden. Alexander Stewart married Anna Gordon, only daughter of Robert Gordon of Corse (Marriage Contract, 9th July 1714), and by her had two daughters, Margaret and Helen. He was hopelessly bankrupt before the landing of Prince Charles, so he was risking little when he took part in the Jacobite Rising. He died in May 1746 of the wounds received at Culloden. His wife and both daughters survived him, and were cited as the executors of his estate of £925 17s. Scots. In 1756 there was a general charge to enter the Earl of Aboyne as proprietor of Aucholzie in consequence of the debts due to him by the late proprietor, Alexander Stewart.

[1]French Foreign Office Papers.

[2]Add. MSS. Brit. Museum, 35,050.

Stewart, James, major in the Duke of Perth's regiment.

Does not occur in the lists drawn up by the Supervisors of Excise and printed by Lord Rosebery.

He was born in Aberdeenshire, and for ten years before the Jacobite Rising had been in the service of the Duke of Perth in a capacity variously described as "Valet, menial, servant or Chamberlain." He was taken prisoner after Culloden and was in the New Gaol, Southwark, on 8th August 1746, when he was convicted of High Treason, but reprieved on account of his having saved the life of Major Bowles at Prestonpans. A pardon was then granted on condition of his remaining in England. Before Stewart left gaol, Humphrey Bowles, brother of the late Major Bowles, petitioned in his favour, representing that "he is a poor man with a wife and family, bred to no business but that of service, and cannot expect employment in that line in England" —therefore begs that he may be allowed to go home, on giving good security for his peaceable behaviour. (P.R.O.)

A free and unconditional pardon was granted on the 20th August 1747.

Stewart, John, Farmer, Borland, Glentanar, Aberdeenshire.

In the List of Rebels from the Aberdeen district (Rosebery) this man is described as:—

"A prompter to rebellion who had three sons engaged therein; from one of which he received a horse taken at Inverness, he also apprehended two of the Macleods who were making their escape home. Whereabouts *not known.*"

The three sons "enlisted Volunteers with the French and carried arms at the battles of Falkirk, Inverurie and Culloden. Now near their father's house. Lurking."

They were—

Stewart, James.
Stewart, Joseph.
Stewart, Peter.

None of them was taken prisoner.

Stewart, Ludovick, and his brother Robert Stewart.

Neither of these men appears in Lord Rosebery's List, but they both signed the Oath of Allegiance taken by the Duke of Perth and others to Prince Charles at the beginning of the Rising. Bishop Forbes in his "Jacobite Memoirs" describes them as being the representatives of Sir Walter Stewart, of Strathaven and Glenlivet, who was knighted at the battle of Harlaw in 1411. They both took part in the skirmish at Keith in February 1746, with a company of John Roy Stuart's regiment, and Robert Stewart was severely wounded, being then described as a captain.

Stewart, Robert.

Apparently called upon Bishop Forbes in 1748, and the latter gives a description of the wounds received at Keith by Robert. "The ball went in at the left shoulder and out at the right, for Captain Stewart made me feel the wound, like a furrow on his back. He told me when he got the wound he happened to be looking about to see if his men were keeping close by him. This wound prevented his being at Culloden."

There are no details as to what subsequently happened to the two brothers. A letter from Captain Robert Stewart to Bishop Forbes gives a considerable list of houses burnt in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire after the Rising. This letter is dated from "Crook's Mill, Forfarshire, 27th June 1749."

Stuart, Peter, younger, of Tannachy.

"Gentleman, Tannachie, Banff. Ensign in the Rebel Army—Lurking." Thus he is mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List. His name is usually given as Patrick, and this family now uses the spelling Steuart. He was the son of George Steuart of Tannachy, Portgordon, who married Anne, daughter of Sir James Abercromby of Birkenbog, and died in December 1748. Peter was cited, by edict (Commissary of Aberdeen), on 7th June 1749, as eldest son of George Steuart of Tannachy, and was served heir to him in May 1750. He

married his cousin, Elizabeth (who died 1806), younger daughter of Alexander Steuart of Auchlunkart, and died 21st December 1777, aged 50, leaving issue:—

(1) George Steuart of Tannachy, W.S., died October 1814, aged 45. (2) Alexander, major, 75th Regiment, killed in Callabria, April 1813, aged 40. (3) Andrew, died in Jamaica. (4) Harriet Mary, died July 1864, in her 93rd year. (5) Elizabeth Margaret, died July 1858, aged 82.

Peter Stuart was a keen Presbyterian, and built the Chapel-of-Ease at Enzie. He said he had joined the Rising entirely owing to the persuasions of Lord Lewis Gordon.

The entry in Rosebery's List immediately *above* Peter Stuart, younger, of Tannachy, is—

"Peter Stuart, Gentleman, Oxhill, Banff, Ensign in the rebel army, and very active in recruiting men. Lurking."

It is, however, certain that the two entries refer to the same man.

Oxhill is a farm in the neighbourhood of Tannachy, on which Tannachy, the younger, may have resided during the lifetime of his father, George Steuart, who, as mentioned above, died in 1748.

Stuart, William.

Was amongst the Scots who surrendered at Carlisle on 30th December 1745, and when brought up for trial at St. Margaret's Hill, Southwark, was described as "of Banffshire and a Lieutenant of Colonel Roy Stewart's Regiment." There is no definite record of what became of him, but it is probable that he was the William "Stewart" who was acquitted on 19th September 1746.

He does not appear in Lord Rosebery's List under Banffshire Jacobites, but in the return from Elgin occurs as "William Stuart, Clashnaver, carried arms in the Rebel army. Prisoner." This is *Clashmore*, in Upper Banffshire, from which place a number of other Jacobites, mentioned in the list sent in by the Supervisor of Excise in Elgin, are known to have come. This William Stuart is probably also identical with Lieutenant

William Stuart, to whom a grant was made in 1748 out of the money allowed by the King of France to Prince Charles's followers.

Thomson, Alexander, of Faichfield.

In the List of Rebels furnished by John Finlayson, Supervisor of Excise at Old Meldrum, there appears:—"Alexander Thomson of Feichfield, Longside. Joined the Pretender's son at Edinburgh and recruited men for their service. Rent of estate—£200—a fashionable house."

Alexander Thomson was served heir, in July 1724, to his father, Thomas Thomson of Faichfield, who died in November 1722, aged 67, and his mother was Ann Gordon. He is often described as brother-in-law to Alexander Irvine of Drum, but this is a mistake, as he was really uncle, his sister Isabella having married, in 1698, Alexander Irvine of Drum, the father of Alexander Irvine, the Jacobite. Alexander Thomson was married[1] and had three sons, James, Thomas (q.v.) and John. He was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747 under the name of Alexander Thomson of *Fechfield,* and in the following year a True Bill "of High Treason" was found against him at Edinburgh. Of his subsequent career nothing is known.

Thomson, Thomas, younger, of Faichfield.

Lord Rosebery's List records that he was "son to Feichfield, Longside, Aberdeen, and joined the Rebel Army with his Father." He was probably only a boy at the time of the Rising and was compelled to accompany his father to Edinburgh. There is no record of his having been killed, or made prisoner, so he may

[1]Sir Alexander Guthrie of Ludquharn and King-Edward died at Faichfield on 26th November 1761, aged 42. Three of Sir Alexander's sisters married prominent Jacobites. Christina married George Cumine of Pitullie. Mary married John Fullarton of Dudwick; and Anne married William Burnet, senior, of Campfield. It is known that there was a fourth sister, Jean, who was possibly the wife of Alexander Thomson of Faichfield; Sir Alexander Guthrie thus dying at the house of his brother-in-law.

possibly have benefited under the Act of Indemnity and settled down to be a useful citizen. John Thomson of Feichfield, who died in April 1778, was probably his younger brother, James being older, but then dead.

Troup, William, "Dancing Master, Aberdeen. Acted as a Lieutenant at Inverury and Culloden. Lurking." (Rosebery.)

No further details are known as to this man, but in spite of his peaceful profession he seems to have become quite a useful soldier, as in the account by Captain Hill, who furnishes a "List of Rebels," he is described as "Captain Troup." (P.R.O.)

Another "dancing master" who had a less honourable career was "John Baptist Froment, born in France, but had lived 8 or 9 years in Edinburgh. Joined the rebels when he came thither and attended them along with the Artillery till after the battle of Culloden where he made his escape." He was, however, taken and committed to Newgate, where he turned "evidence," and was removed to the house of Mr. Nathan Carrington, Messenger; when his testimony helped to hang Alexander Leith, and was also offered against John and Cosmo Alexander, Sir William Gordon of Park, Lord Lewis Gordon and "several others which time will bring into my memory or, when I see these persons or names, shall know and will discover all that is in my power upon Oath, to doe his Majesty and government service." (P.R.O.)

Tulloch, David, Dunbennan, Huntly.

He is described in the Rebel List as "Farmer, Dunbeenan, Aberdeen; Captain, who also collected the Cess and levyied money for the Rebels." Tulloch was a tenant of the Duke of Gordon and gave great assistance to John Hamilton in raising men for the Prince's army. A certain John Thomson, an officer of the Customs at Aberdeen and a keen Hanoverian, had given much information to the Government. On 3rd October 1745 he was compelled to fly from Aberdeen to Inverness

for fear of being captured by the Jacobites, but, to use his own words, "was so closely pursued by one David Tulloch, a rebel officer, and some other riders, that they overtook me at Elgin and went to the Inn where I alighted, but missing me there, they broke open the Stable Door and carried off my horse and things, and I happening to be then at a private house, got off from thence in the night time to Inverness and was followed by them to Forres." At this point, presumably, David Tulloch abandoned the chase and turned his attention to recruiting in Banffshire, for the next we hear of him is to be found in a letter from Alexander Grant of Tochieneal to Lord Findlater, dated 11th December 1745:— "David Tulloch is just now at Banff with about 60 or 80 men and as I am told demands no fewer Levies from that Town as 200 men. To appearance Mr. Tulloch or Abbachy will soon be here, and unless your Lordship fall upon some shift for relief to us, we shall suffer extremely." But Tulloch did not then venture to go to Cullen, for by 18th December he was back in Aberdeen in command of "some scores of men" under Lord Lewis Gordon. After this there is no further account of his activities, but he was regarded as particularly obnoxious by the Government, and after Culloden his farm at Dunbennan, described as "the whole Toun," was burnt, and a True Bill of High Treason was found against him in Edinburgh in October 1748.[1]

Turner, John, younger, of Turnerhall.

Was the eldest son of John Turner of Turnerhall, Ellon, and Margaret Farquharson, his wife. He was born in 1725, and from 1741-1745 was at Marischal College, Aberdeen. Having just completed his education at the time of the landing of Prince Charles, he

[1]A story is told of how David Tulloch once attended the young Lady Susan Gordon to the church at Huntly and gave her his plaid to kneel on; when, however, the minister began the prayer for the King and the Royal family, the improvised mat was hastily drawn away, the owner exclaiming, "Deil ane shall pray for *them* on *my* plaid." In contemporary histories and documents the name is usually spelt Tulloch. The form Tulloh occurs in letters, and is now used by the family.

proceeded to Edinburgh to join the Jacobite forces and apparently accompanied them into England, for Lord Rosebery's List says that "John Turner, Junior of Turnerhall recruited about 20 men for their service on their retreat north." It further adds that the rent of his estate was £300 and the condition of his house of Turnerhall is described as "good." He was excepted from pardon in 1747, but at Edinburgh in October 1748 the Grand Jury returned an "ignoramus" verdict against him, which, on a second indictment, was changed into that of a True Bill for High Treason. How he managed to escape the consequences of this verdict is not known, but apparently he lay low for some years and did not appear in public. Possibly with the lapse of time his offence was condoned. "It is overtly remarked in the Session Books that Turner of Turnershall, so long as eleven years after Culloden, did not judge it safe for him to appear before the congregation."—(Session Records.)

His father died in Aberdeen in December 1755, and John Turner entered into possession of the entailed estates, though he never made up titles to them. He married, on 29th October 1757, Elizabeth, daughter of William Urquhart of Meldrum, and had 5 sons and 6 daughters. He died at Beaconsfield, Bucks, on 8th February 1802, aged 77.

Turner, Margaret, of Turnerhall.

Was the daughter of Alexander Farquharson, Writer to the Signet, by his wife, Helen Marshall. She married John Turner of Turnerhall, and was the mother of John Turner, junior, just described. She is one of the few feminine Jacobites mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List, where she is described as "Lady Turnerhall. Was most active in engaging men for her son and sent several after him to the Highlands."[1] It is presumed that she incurred no penalties from her recruiting efforts. According to the *Aberdeen Journal* she died 22nd December 1754 "much regretted," and her husband a year later.

[1] In the *notes* she is erroneously described as Mary.

Tyrie, David, younger, of Dunnydeer.

The Tyries got possession of Dunnydeer about 1650. It was a very old Catholic family, which came originally from Perth. In 1704 the Tyries were reported to the Presbytery of Garioch by the minister of Insch as zealous Papists. Those named were:—John Tyrie, younger, of Dunnydeer, and Margaret Tulloch, his wife; John, David and James Tyrie; Anna, Margaret and Bettie Tyrie and George Gordon and Elspet Tyrie, his wife.

The Jacobite, David Tyrie, born in 1727 (given as the son of David Tyrie who died in 1750, and his wife, Anna Menzies), was probably son to the David referred to in the above report. David Tyrie, junior, is mentioned in Lord Rosebery's List as of "Dinnedeer, Insh, Aberdeen. Joined the Rebel Army after the Battle of Preston. Rent of Estate £80." He is said to have been a volunteer in Lord Pitsligo's horse. In an exhibition of curios at Laurencekirk in 1910 there was shown an "Andrea Ferrara sword, which belonged to David Tyrie of Dunnydeer and used by him in the '45. He died in Aberdeen 11th December 1807 in his 80th year."—*(Aberdeen Journal.)* The house of the Tyrie family was near the Burn of Shevach, at the foot of the southern slope of the hill of Dunnydeer. Over the door were the initials J.T. M.T. 1675. (John Tyrie and Margaret Tulloch, above.)

Tyrie, John, Priest.

Was probably uncle to David, just mentioned. In Lord Rosebery's List he is given as "a Popish Priest, Clashmore. Was very active in raising men to go into the Rebellion, at home." In the Rev. Odo Blundell's "Catholic Highlands of Scotland," the Rev. John Tyrie was stated to have preached and said Mass at Robieston from 1724 to 1733. He also had charge of the school at Scalan for a short time. In 1739 he was appointed priest to Glenlivet. He joined Prince Charles as chaplain to the Glenlivet and Strathaven contingent, under Gordon of Glenbucket. As the men of this party

were mostly Catholics it was thought proper that they should have a priest, so John Tyrie in Glenlivet and William Grant, missionary in Strathaven, cast lots to determine which of them should go with the troops. The lot fell to Tyrie, to the great regret of Grant. Tyrie went with the Highland army into England and returned and was present at Culloden, where he was twice wounded in the head and got off with great difficulty. He escaped capture by going into hiding for many months, though his house at the Bochel, books and furniture, were burnt by the Hanoverian soldiers.

John Tyrie died at Shenval in the Cabrach 19th May 1755.

Urquhart, Adam.

Was the second son of James Urquhart of Byth, and his wife, Jane Porterfield. He was born in 1721, and seems to have been sent to France at an early age, and to have received a commission in Lord John Drummond's regiment in the French King's service.

Nothing is known of his early military career, but in November 1745 he, with Charles Radcliffe, who claimed to be Earl of Derwentwater, and 16 officers in the French King's service, were captured at sea off the Goodwin Sands in the two vessels, "L'Espérance" and "Le Soleil," by the British ship "Sheerness" and taken to Dover. Adam Urquhart is described as being lieutenant in Lord John Drummond's regiment, as having been born in Aberdeenshire and having served in the French Service for 14 years.[1] Adam was brought to London for trial with the other prisoners and appears to have received a free pardon on 19th January 1747, and ultimately returned to France.

He is next heard of as being appointed gentleman-in-waiting to Prince Charles, then styled King Charles the III by his loyal adherents. This post was not

[1] If this is correct he must have begun his military career at the early age of 10. There are many other instances of boys of that age being given commissions, and Sir William Gordon of Park's son obtained his at the age of 3, and received pay from that time!

altogether a pleasant one. In one of Horace Walpole's letters there is a statement that Prince Charles was in the habit, when in a temper, of striking the gentlemen of his bedchamber, and, in consequence of maltreatment, John Hay, Andrew Lumsden and Adam Urquhart, were obliged to leave his service. (Adam is generally referred to as the "Chevalier Urquhart.") Horace Walpole got this account from Dr. Gem, who was physician to the British Embassy from 1762, and Adam Urquhart told Dr. Gem *he* had never let Prince Charles strike *him*, "being a stronger man and holding him when in a passion." "The Lyon in Mourning" gives a fuller account of the same incident:—"It was true indeed that the K(ing) had been use for some time past to call frequently for the other glass of wine at dinner and supper, not from any liking to liquor, but like one absent in mind, when he met with things that vexed him, as too often was the case. That one day at dinner he had done so till he was somewhat intoxicated, and in that condition proposed going to an Oratorio in the afternoon, but they absolutely refused to attend him. Yea, he went to his coach, and they would by no means go into it; upon which he returned to his rooms and dismissed them. In a day or two, he sent for them to return to their duty, but they happening to consult with the Cardinal of York, he advised them absolutely not to return, which counsel they followed."

Nothing is known of Adam Urquhart's life for the next few years, but he ultimately returned to Scotland, as in 1778 he married, at Craigston Castle, his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of Captain John Urquhart of Craigston and Cromarty. Of this union there were no children. Mrs. Urquhart survived her husband and died in 1831, aged 90. In 1792 James Urquhart of Byth, the elder brother of Adam, died, aged 82, and the latter came into possession of the family estate. This James Urquhart was also a Jacobite at heart, and in the early days of the Rising of 1745 he left Byth with 5 or 6 men to join Prince Charles' army. He, however, called on his way at Meldrum and was persuaded by his more prudent cousin to delay, and finally to relinquish his

project. At Meldrum House there is a very interesting letter written from Aberdeen on the 24th January 1746 to James Urquhart of Byth. It is unsigned, and gives an account of the battle of Falkirk, enlarges on the great victory and the probable landing of a French force, all in very glowing colours. The end of the letter is worth quoting:—"Therefore since everything seems to goe fairly on, you may now sit at home. I am very hopeful the affair will suceed tho' you should give us no assistance; how much you shall deserve to be commended for it afterwards, I leave the world to judge, or whether you had most reason to hearken to the peevish reasons of some of your friends or obey the loud cries of Duty and Honor."

Other members of the Urquhart family were undoubtedly Jacobites at heart, though they did not take up arms for the Prince. This is shown in the letter already quoted from Lord Lewis Gordon to Moir of Stoneywood from Huntly Castle 20th November 1745, "as to the loans I am fully convinced we shall not get so much as we first expected; but Meldrum has promised and Captain Urquhart performed." Captain John Urquhart of Craigston (Adam's father-in-law) had, therefore, subscribed secretly to Prince Charles' funds, and William Urquhart of Meldrum was also in sympathy with the cause and went so far as to promise a contribution (in spite of his having persuaded James Urquhart of Byth not to go out). There is a hiding place at Craigston Castle which is said to have concealed some unfortunate Jacobites after Culloden.

Adam Urquhart spent the remaining years of his life quietly at Byth House, which was built by Forbes of Byth. Over the door is the motto, "Velcum Friendis" (Welcome Friends), with Forbes arms quartered with those of Udny, his wife being Christian Udny of Udny. It came into the possession of the Urquharts in 1711, and was sold by Garden Duff of Hatton, representative of the old Urquhart family, in 1924.

Adam Urquhart died at Byth on 12th May 1802 in his 81st year, and was succeeded by his sister Elizabeth, who died in 1818, aged 94.

Volum, James, Surgeon, Peterhead.

As "James Volume" he appears in Rosebery's List, with the addition that he "joined and carried arms in the Rebel Army." The name Volum is most unusual. The original form was Welham or Vellam, possibly of Norse origin, and is found at an early date in Forfarshire. In that county it is generally spelt Volum, and the same spelling is still to be found at Peterhead. From information kindly supplied by Mr. James Gordon, Solicitor, Peterhead, it is learnt that James Volum was the son of William Volum, sailor, who lived in Harbour Street, Peterhead, and his wife, Ann Strachan. James Volum must have been a valuable asset to the Jacobites, as surgeons were scarce in those days. Having remained with the army throughout the campaign, he escaped after Culloden and went abroad. After a time he returned to Peterhead and married Mary Hay, and their descendants exist to this day. He was "retoured" co-heir to his father on 25th March 1768, and an Instrument of Sasine was "expede" in his favour 10th June 1768. G. W. A. Macnaughton, in "Medical Heroes of the '45," says that James Volum died at Peterhead in 1786.

Volum, Thomas.

Is described in the Rebel List as "Thomas Volume, Surgeon to the Countess of Erroll, Bowence, Cruden. Joined and carried arms in the Rebel Army." According to Mr. James Gordon, Peterhead, Thomas was a brother of James Volum just given. From the account in Lord Rosebery's book it may be assumed that Thomas as well as his brother James joined the Jacobite army under the influence of Lady Erroll. The Volum brothers are believed to have studied medicine in this country, but it is not known what qualifications they held, and it is said that neither of the brothers ever practised his profession at Peterhead. Thomas was never heard of after the Rising, and was probably killed or died during the campaign.

White, Alexander, junior, in Ardlawhill.

Nothing much is known about him. In Lord Rosebery's List he appears as "Alexander White, Junior of Ardlahill, Aberdour. Joined and carried arms in the Rebel Army. Rent of Estate—£30. House not good." In the Decennial Indices of Heirs it is stated that "Alexander White of Ardlayhill" was served co-heir "to his father, John White of Ardlayhill, son of Captain Alexander White, a Knight of Windsor," on the 15th March 1758, so we can conclude that the Jacobite came safely through the Rising, though he was excepted from pardon in the Act of Indemnity of 1747. He is known to have been in Paris in November 1748.[1] He had a sister, Elizabeth White (who married George Keith of Northfield), and was served co-heir with him to her father in 1758. The Buchan Field Club Transactions mention that White was a direct descendant of John "Whyte," tenant in Ardlawhill, who died in 1590, and against whom an action for removing had been unsuccessfully brought by George Baird of Auchmedden. In the pleadings in defence it was stated that "Whyte and his predecessors had been kindly possessors of these lands for one thousand years!"

Whyte, ———, Divinity Student, Presbytery of Deer.

The only mention of this individual occurs in the Diary of the Rev. John Bisset where, under date 2nd April 1746, he says:—"The synod debated some time about a proper censure on Mr. Whyte, who was on tryals before the presbytry of Deer, but since, a Captain among the rebels. Some moved summar excommunication; in my opinion a proper censure. Another moved to neglect him, alleging a rope and a tree would be his fittest reward. I frankly own, if I could not have obtained the first, I would have been for the last; but both were overruled; and in the depth of their wisdom and zeal, it was concluded to declare him for ever incapable of a license, and that no presbytry might take

[1]French Foreign Office Papers.

him on tryals." From this it may be concluded that if Whyte survived the '45 he embarked on some other profession!

Wood, Andrew. Not mentioned in Rosebery's List of Rebels, but is known to have been born in Strathbogie.

At his trial it was stated that he was "23 years old on Jan. 17 next (1747) born of respectable parents who gave him a good education. Nothing particular can be said of him before he entered into the Rebellion, but being of a bold and resolute spirit and an enterprising young fellow, when the rebels came to Strathbogie, Roy Stuart, a Colonel in the rebel army, took notice of him and gave him a Commission and delivered it to Wood with his own hand, saying 'My Lad, I conceive great hopes from your valour and abilities.' As soon as he received the said Commission, he immediately put his authority in force and beat for Volunteers and Recruits, wherein he had great success, and accompanied the said Regt. at the head of his company to the last. He was taken at Culloden and put under the care of Captains Moore and Eyre; after being some time detained a prisoner at Inverness, he was sent on board one of his Majesty's ships to London with other rebel officers and confined in the New Gaol, in the county of Surrey, where he continued for his trial, not so plentifully supplied as many of the others were, but behaved in a decent manner, but never lamented his error in going headlong into those erroneous practices that brought on him these calamaties. At his trial he made no defence, but pleaded that his Grandfather was very active in bringing about the Revolution[1] and that his Father headed a party against the Rebels in 1715, for proof of which he produced affidavits under the Seal of Glasgow. He had great hopes that he should be one of those fortunate men that were to partake of the clemency and mercy of his Majesty, but when he found himself deceived, he was not at all shocked, but contentedly submitted himself to

[1] Of 1688.

the sentence which the Law had pronounced upon him." —("Trials of the Rebels.")

He was condemned on 15th November and executed at Kennington Common "the Friday sen'night following," 28th November 1746

His name appears in all the lists of those made prisoners at Culloden (including that of the Marquis D'Eguilles, who calls him "le Capitaine André Wood").

In the "Lyon in Mourning" there is printed the dying speech of Andrew Wood, and a long account of his last moments.

He was apparently visited by a minister of the Presbyterian Church (to which he belonged), but this man, putting politics before charity, refused to give him the last consolations of religion unless he entirely abjured his Jacobite principles and confessed that he had been "murdering the King's subjects." This Wood very naturally declined to do, whereupon "the minister got up and went away." By the compassion of a fellow captive, the disconsolate Wood was then introduced to Mr. Robert Gordon, the "non-juring parson who was with Lord Balmerino to the end."[1]

From his hands Andrew Wood received both baptism and communion, and died as a member of the Episcopalian Church, "his ease and cheerfulness continuing with him to the last moment of his life." The Presbyterian minister who behaved so cruelly was an Englishman of the name of Partington.

With this account of Andrew Wood concludes the list of all those Jacobites from Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, of whom fairly full details have been collected.[2]

[1]And was afterwards a Bishop.

[2]There is one other worthy of mention, namely—

Wotherspoon, or **Witherspoon, John**, Minister and D.D. of Aberdeen.

He is known to have taken some part in the Rising of 1745. He afterwards went to America, where he became a prominent member of the Whig party, and was the only clergyman to sign "the Declaration of Independence." He died in 1794, aged 71, having been twice a rebel to the Hanoverian dynasty.

PART III.

LIST OF JACOBITES FROM ABERDEENSHIRE AND BANFFSHIRE.

THE following list includes all the other persons from Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, of whom it has been possible to find the names and abodes.

Firstly, were taken all those given in Lord Rosebery's List under the headings of Aberdeen and Banff; secondly, the list sent in by the Supervisor of Excise in Elgin was carefully scrutinised, and it was found that by far the larger part of his list consisted of men from the Highlands of Banffshire, the district where Glenbucket's recruiting went on so busily. Of the 388 in this list, only 32 came from the Supervisor's own county of Moray, a few from Inverness and all the rest from the Shire of Banff; thirdly, it is to be noted that more than a quarter of the following list of over 900 persons consists of names *not* to be found in Rosebery. These have been collected from lists at the Record Office and the British Museum, from various local records and personal information. They are marked with an asterisk.

Wherever possible the correct spelling of names and places has been substituted for an incorrect one, so frequent in Lord Rosebery's List. Some of the names appear strange for Scotsmen, as Montgomery, Beverley and Hasben! And one or two of the places have defied detection! Such are only included when the man himself is said to have *stated* that he came from Aberdeenshire or Banffshire.

These 930 persons, with the 253 already mentioned, amounting to nearly 1,200, shew that, allowing for the nameless dead in the various battles, our two counties contributed more than *one-sixth* of the Prince's effective forces.

Aberdeen, James, Labourer, Newton, Cruden, joined after the Battle of Preston.

Aberdour, James, Brazier, Old Aberdeen, assisted in uplifting money for the Prince in Old Aberdeen.

Abernethie, John, Tanner, Strathbogie, hired out by the inhabitants, who were forced to do so by John Gordon of Avochie.

Abernethie, John, Overseer of the Highways, Tyrie, Aberdeenshire.

Adam, James, Gardener, Aberdeen, carried arms, but deserted and joined H.R.H. the Duke at Culloden.

*Adam, John, Coal Driver, Aberdeen, prisoner in Aberdeen.

Adamson, William, Labourer, Cowlie, Monymusk.

*Addison, George, Bowman of Aberdeen, in Pitsligo's Horse.

*Agevy, John, of Aberdeen, of Farquharson's Regt., prisoner at Tilbury.

*Airth, John, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.

*Aitken, Andrew, a prisoner in Aberdeen from 22nd July, 1746, to 28th April, 1747.

Alexander, George, Glover, Old Aberdeen, Ensign.

Allan, James, "Town Cadie," Aberdeen, carried arms at Inverurie and Culloden.

Allan, John, Farmer, Moss-side, Banff.

Allan, Robert, a Servant, Old Aberdeen.

Allanoch, John, Merchant, Clashmore, Banffshire.

*Allen, James, Aberdeen, imprisoned for being concerned in the Rising.

Anderson, Alexander, Knockiemill, Banff.

Anderson, Alexander, Servant, Upper Dallachy, Banffshire, a sergeant and enlisted men.

Anderson, Charles, Merchant, Old Meldrum, collected levy money.

Anderson, James, Barber, Old Aberdeen, with the army from the beginning.

Anderson, John, Craighead, Marnoch, Banffshire, Gentleman, Ensign.

*Anderson, John, Gardener, Aberdeen.

*Anderson, John, Banff, Servant to Mr. Forbes, prisoner in Tilbury.

*Anderson, William, Vintner, Old Aberdeen.

*Andrew, William, Banff, prisoner in Inverness.

*Angus, George, Tailor of Longside, Buchan, a prisoner at Peterhead, 5th June, 1746, released 26th August, 1746.

Angus, William, Labourer, Newton of Cruden, joined after Preston.

*Annand, Alexander, Butcher, prisoner in Aberdeen.

*Annand, James, Duke of Perth's Regiment, of Aberdeen, in Carlisle garrison.

*Arbuthnot, John, Tailor, of Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison, transported.

*Auld, Janet, prisoner in Tolbooth, Aberdeen.

Auld, William, Huxter, Aberdeen, carried arms.

Bagrie, William, Labourer, Gateside, Cruden, joined after Falkirk.

*Bain, George, Labourer, Aberdeen, transported.

Bain, John, yr., Glenconglass, Banffshire, forced to serve, submitted to King's mercy.

Bain-Stewart, Archibald, Delavorar, Banffshire, forced to serve.

*Barclay, Gilbert, Cruden, Aberdeenshire.

Barclay, John, Shoemaker, Fochabers.

Barclay, Robert, Merchant, Aberdeen, in the Prince's Life Guards.

*Barclay, William, Cabinetmaker, Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison, pardoned on enlistment.

*Baxter, George, Aberdeen, prisoner there.

*Bean, George, Writer in Aberdeen, prisoner there.

Begg, Alexander, Tanner, Akinboe, Aberdeenshire, hired out.

*Begg, ——, Servant to Glenbucket, hid Glenbucket's flint-lock in a Moss; it is now in the Museum at Clova.

Bell, David, Weaver, Aberdeen.

*Bennagagh, John, Banffshire, prisoner in Carlisle.

Bennet, Robert, Merchant, Fochabers.

Bettie, Alexander, Labourer, Premnay.

*Beverley, John, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.

Bickey, James, Miller's apprentice, Miln of Turriff.

Binnachie, John, Weaver, Bellandy, Glenrinnes.

Birse, William, Labourer, Carlaurg, Birse, Deeside, at Falkirk battle, said to be forced out.

Bisset, James, Servant to John Downie, Little Clintarty, Newhills.

Bowie, James, Brewer and Malster, Cullen, at the plundering of Cullen House.

Bowie, James, Souie, Glenlivet.

*Bowie, John, Servant, aged 14, Aberdeen, transported.

*Bowie, Robert, Parkmore, Banffshire.

Bowman, James, Farmer, Todlehills, Ellon, joined after Falkirk.

Bowman, James, Householder, Portsoy.

*Brady, William, Labourer, Rathven, Carlisle garrison.

Brand, Robert, Labourer, Banchory.

*Brander, James, Banff.

Breber-Mackinteer, Angus, Auchlanie, very active in plundering.

*Brebner, George, Labourer, Aberdeen.

Bredy, John, Labourer, Old Machar, Aberdeen.

Bremner, George, Wright and Servant, Carnousie.

Bremner, George, Shoemaker, Fochabers.

Bremner, Robert, Weaver, Fochabers.

*Bremner, Walter, Pedlar, Gilston, Aberdeen.

Bridgefoord, Magnus, Upper Mains of Blairydroyne, Durris, at Culloden.

Brown, John, Carnousie.

Brown, John, Ballindouan, forced out and deserted.

*Broun, Joseph, aged 16, Tailor, Banff, transported.

Broun, William, Servant, Carnousie.

*Bruce, John, Aberdeen, prisoner there.

Bruce, Robert, Labourer, Old Meldrum.

Buchan, George, Labourer, Old Meldrum.

Buchan, James, Labourer, Leys, Ellon.

Buchan, John, Labourer, Hillhead of Cruden.

*Burboy, John, Cordwainer, Strathbogie. (P.R.O.)

Burnet, William, Labourer, Collonach, Drumoak.

Bygowan, George, Servant, Kintore, hired out.

Calder, John, a young Servant, Birse, Deeside, at Culloden, but said to be forced.

Calder, Robert, Sailor, Aberdeen, carried arms.

Cameron, John, Croftbain, Banffshire.

Cameron, John, Miller in Ruthven of Kirkmichael.

*Campbell, Alexander, Labourer, Clatt, Aberdeenshire.

Campbell, Angus, Carrier, Banff.

*Campbell, Donald, Servant to Pitfoddels, laid down his arms.

Campbell, Donald, Fodderletter, carried arms but submitted himself.

Campbell, John, Fodderletter.

*Campbell, John, Aberdeen, prisoner at Musselburgh, escaped.

*Carr, Nicholas, Piper, Huntly, Carlisle garrison, acquitted.

Cato, James, House Carpenter, Fraserburgh.

*Cattanach, Andrew, Banff, prisoner after Culloden.

*Cattanach, Duncan, Braes of Mar.

*Catto, Alex., Weaver in Aberdeen.

Chalmers, George, Salmon Fisher, Don Bridge.

*Chalmers, Isobel, of Aberdeen, followed Glengarry's Regt.

Chalmers, John, Farmer, Methlick, was at Inverurie Skirmish, and assisted in taking prisoners there; went to the Supervisor's room with three armed men in quest of books relating to revenue.

Chalmers, William, Baxter, of Fraserburgh, concerned in apprehending Captain Grant on his way to join Lord Loudoun at Inverness.

*Chape, James, Smith at St. Marnoch Church, prisoner in Edinburgh.

*Chapman, James, Gardener, Durn, Banffshire.

Chapman, John, Servant to Sir William Gordon of Park.

*Chapman, William, Pedlar, Aberdeenshire.

Chein, George, Sailor, Fraserburgh.

*Chicad, William, Banff. (P.R.O.)

Chivas, John, Labourer, Premnay.

*Christie, Alex., 21, Aberdeen, prisoner in Inverness.

*Christie, Alex., 19, Aberdeen, prisoner in Inverness.

*Christie, David, 21, Aberdeen, prisoner in Inverness.

Christy, Patrick, Farmer, Corsairtly, Banffshire, Sergeant at Culloden.

Christy, William, Ship Master, Fraserburgh, concerned in apprehending Captain Grant.

Clapperton, Thomas, Weaver, Fochabers.

*Clark, Alex., Aberdeen, at Culloden.

Clark, Alex., Dyster, Fochabers.

Clark, Andrew, Labourer, Echt.

*Clark, James, Chapman, Slains, prisoner at Stirling, liberated.

Clark, John, Ruthven in Kirkmichael, a Quarter-master and very active.

Clark, William, Labourer, Little Artrachy, Cruden, joined after Preston.

*Clavering, Elizabeth, Seamstress, Banff, transported.

*Clows, Robert, Banchory.

*Coats, William, Labourer, Aberdeenshire, transported.

*Collie, George, Pitfoddels.

*Colquhoun, Archibald, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.

Cormack, John, Servant to Dorlaithers, recruited men.

Coutts, David, Junr., Wright, Aberdeen.

Coutts, James, a poor man, Banchory, Deeside.

Coutts, John, Baker's apprentice, Aberdeen, was one of the mob who broke the Town's Drum when solemnising the Prince of Wales' birthday.

*Coutts, William, Aberdeen, Monaltrie's Regiment.

Coutts, William, Boatman in Aberdeen, and prisoner there.

Coutts, William, Inverourie, Banffshire.

Cowie, Alex., Weaver, Fochabers.

*Craig, Alex., Aberdeen, in prison there.

Craig, Alex., Merchant, Rosehearty, joined at Edinburgh, worth money.

Craig, George, Wright, Loanhead, Old Machar.

*Crawford, Alex., of the parish of Gamrie, a rebel soldier, died at Nethermill, Friday, 28th March, 1746, and was buried at Essil.

*Crawford, Patrick, Vinter at Don Bridge, prisoner in Aberdeen.

Cristal, John, Wright, Aberdeen, assisted in unloading the Spanish ship at Peterhead, was concerned in a mob at Old Aberdeen, was apprehended and admitted to bail.

Cruickshank, Hector, Delavorar.

Cruickshank, James, Labourer, Miln of Bonnytoun, Rayne.

Cruickshank, Dr. John, Surgeon, Fraserburgh, joined the army at Edinburgh, prisoner in Aberdeen.

Cruickshank, John, a deserter, Delavorar.

*Cruickshank, John, Weaver, a prisoner in the Tolbooth, Aberdeen.

*Cruickshank, John, Herdsman, Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison, transported.

Cruickshank, Robert, Delavorar, forced out, but submitted himself.

Cruickshank, Robert, Badiglashean, Ballindalloch.

*Cumming, David, a Servant, Aberdeen.

Cumming, Lauchlan, Tomintoul.

Cumming, John, Tombae, an officer, but deserted, and submitted himself.

Dalgarno, John, Merchant, Auchmunzle, New Deer, recruited men.

*Daniel, James, Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison.

*Davidson, Alex., Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden, transported.

*Davidson, Charles, in prison in Aberdeen, Servant to Abergeldie.

Davidson, George, Glenconglass.

Davidson, James, Glenconglass.

*Davidson, James, aged 14, Servant to Gordon of Carnousie, "a very wicked boy." (P.R.O.)

*Davidson, James, Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison.

*Davidson, John, Pitfoddels.

Davidson, John, Inchnacape, compelled to carry arms, submitted himself.

Davidson, John, Auchriachan, Tomintoul.

*Davidson, John, prisoner at Culloden, deserted from Guise's Regiment.

Davidson, Peter, Servant, Balnacraig, Aboyne, carried arms in England.

Davidson, William, Tailor, Turriff, returned to the country.

*Davidson, William, Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison.

Davison, Andrew, Labourer, Hill of Tillycairn, Clunie.

Dawson, James, Wright, Kinminity, hired out.

Deans, Andrew, Labourer, Hill of Tillycairn, Clunie.

Derg, Angus, Tombreck of Fodderletter.

Dick, Alex., Labourer, Turnilove, Cruden.

*Dickie, Margaret, of the parish of Bellie, Banffshire, prisoner in Lancaster Gaol. She was pardoned 24th March, 1747.

*Donald, James, Servant to Pitfoddels.

Donaldson, James, Servant to Hay of Rannes, prisoner at Inverness.

Douglas, Alex., Cobleheugh, Aboyne, killed at Culloden.

Douglas, John, a Cottar, Glassel, Banchory, at Inverurie.

*Douglass, Patrick, Banffshire, Carlisle garrison.

Downie, John, Farmer, Little Clintarty, Newhills, Lieut.

Duff, John, Baxter, Banff.

Duffus, Alex., Messenger, Fochabers.

*Duguid, George, Merchant, Aberdeen, "had to find security for good behaviour."

Duguid, Peter, Vintner, Old Meldrum.

Duncan, George, Servant, Fochabers.

Duncan, James, Servant, Turriff.

*Duncan, John, White Fisher in Footdee, in prison in Aberdeen.

*Duncan, John, prisoner at Culloden, deserter, of Aberdeen.

Duncan, Thomas, Tillygarmouth, Aberdeenshire.

Dunn, John, Labourer, Calton of Cockardy.

*Dunnon, John, Banff.

*Durrar, William, Aberdeenshire, prisoner at Culloden.

*Durrie, Alex., Tide-waiter in Aberdeen, prisoner there.

Durward, George, Labourer, Bauds, Aboyne, at Falkirk.

Durward, John, Sadler, Old Meldrum, at Inverurie.

Durward, Robert, Labourer, Bauds, Aboyne.

*Dyce, James, of Aberdeen, in French picquets, prisoner at Culloden.

Easson, John, a Cottar, Lorichmore, Deeside.

Easson, Robert, Labourer, Formiston, Aboyne.

*Edinson, William, Banffshire.

*Edward, Francis, Servant to William Booth, Aberdeen.

Edward, Michael, Blacksmith, Old Aberdeen.

Edward, William, Shoemaker, Old Aberdeen, assisted in unloading the Spanish ship, was apprehended but admitted to bail.

*Egon, John, Crathie, at Culloden.

Elder, John, Servant to Sir William Gordon of Park.

*Elphinstone, William, Servant to Dr. Gregory, prisoner in Aberdeen.

Ewing, Charles, Labourer, Charlestown, Aboyne.

Ewing, Peter, Labourer, Croft, Glentanner.

Ewing, Robert, Soldier and deserter, Charlestown, Aboyne.

Falconer, Alex., Sailor, Fraserburgh.

*Falconer, William, prisoner at Culloden.

Farquhar, Francis, Servant, Finzean, Deeside.

Farquhar, James, Farmer, Burnside, Banff.

*Farquhar, William, prisoner in Aberdeen, Labourer in Glasgowego.

Farquharson, Lewis, Labourer, Foggyridge, Rayne.

*Farquharson, William, Banffshire, prisoner at Culloden.

Ferguson, James, Tomintoul.

*Ferguson, James, Aberdeen, at Culloden.

Ferrier, David, Labourer, Cothill, Ellon, joined after Falkirk.

Ferrier, James, Sailor, Fraserburgh.

Fife, William, Farmer, Down, Banff, a Volunteer.

Fillan, Alex., Labourer, Kirkton, Aboyne.

Findlater, William, Shoemaker, Spittal, Aberdeen, assisted in transporting the Spanish arms from Peterhead.

Findlay, Robert, Labourer, Balfidie, Birse.

Finlay, William, Croughly, Banffshire.

*Fleming, Alex., Horsehirer in Aberdeen, Crichton of Auchingoul's Regiment.

Fleming, Donald, Mill of Achdregnie, seen in his wounds after Culloden. His house burnt.

*Fleming, Duncan, in Auchinloan, Glenmuick, "slain in the battle of Culloden."

Fleming, James, Croughly, near Tomintoul.

Fleming, John, Servant to Glenbucket, younger, submitted with his master.

Fleming, John, Findran, Banffshire, deserted in February, 1746.

Fleming, Robert, Mill of Achdregnie, Glenlivet.

Forbes, Alex., Stabler, Peterhead, Servant to William Scott, late of Auchtydonald.

*Forbes, Alex., Tamore.

*Forbes, Alex., Labourer, Banff, Carlisle garrison.

Forbes, ——, Bellandy, forced by the Highlanders to carry arms. At home.

Forbes, ——, Bellandy, killed.

Forbes, Benjamin, Merchant, Aberdeen.

Forbes, George, Weaver, Fochabers.

*Forbes, George, Aberdeen, at Culloden.

Forbes, James, Labourer, Turnerhall, Ellon.

Forbes, John, Labourer, Culsalmond.

Forbes, John, Merchant, Candelmore, Banffshire.

*Forbes, John, Strathbogie, Carlisle garrison.

Forbes, John, Wester-Achmore, Glenrinnes.

Forbes, Patrick, Balivaler.

Forbes, Robert, Silversmith's apprentice in Aberdeen.

Forbes, Thomas, Vintner, Peterhead, joined at Edinburgh.

Forbes, William, Farmer, Wester Gauldwell, Boharm.

*Forbes, William, Banff, at Culloden, transported.

Forrest, George, Servant to the Countess of Erroll.

Forrest, James, Labourer, Nethermiln, Ellon, joined after Preston.

Forrest, William, Ground Officer to the Countess of Erroll.

Forrest, William, Labourer, Upper Braehead, Cruden, joined after Preston.

Forsyth, George, Servant, Stoneywood.

Frain, John, Farmer, Mill of Auchinhove, Lumphanan, a Sergeant.

Fraser, Alex., Servant at Castle Fraser.

*Fraser, David, Banffshire. He is deaf and dumb but said to have killed 7 men.

Fraser, Donald, Householder, Portsoy.

*Fraser, James, Strathbogie, Carlisle garrison.

Fraser, James, Auchriachan.

Fraser, James, Upper Cults, Banffshire.

*Fraser, John, Labourer, Aberdeen.

Fraser, John, Balnacoull, Craigellachie.

Fraser, Robert, Carrier and Horsehirer, Banff.

*Fraser, Roderick, Banffshire.

*Fraser, Thomas, Banff, prisoner at Stirling, shot in the thigh (surgeon's fee, 6s. 8d.), escaped out of Hospital.

*Gamatsgairn, Peter, born in Banff, taken at the River Esk, in Whitehaven Gaol. (P.R.O.)

Garmack, William, Workman, Loanhead, Old Machar.

*Garry, Alex., Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison.

Garvich, John, Servant, Balquholly, Aberdeenshire, a private man but very oppressive.

Garvoch, John, Servant to Dorlaithers.

Gattahon, John, Turner, Dyce.

Gauld, John, Achnasgra, Braes of Glenlivet.

Gauld, Robert, Ruthven of Kirkmichael, insulted the country people.

Gauld, Thomas, Achlanie, Tomintoul.

Gauldie, James, Pitchaish.

Gaw, Lewis, Knock of Achnail.

*Geddes, Andrew, Aberdeenshire, prisoner at Culloden.

*Geddes, Alex., Labourer, Sanston, Huntly, transported.

*Gibb, Andrew, Banff, Weaver, drowned when going on board to be transported.

*Gibb, Andrew, Tenant in Durn, Banffshire.

*Gibb, John, Shoemaker, Aberdeen.

*Gibbon, William, Servant to Menzies of Pitfoddels.

Gibenach, Donald, Delavorar, has submitted.

Gibenach, Thomas, Scalan, Banffshire.

*Gible, Henry, of Aberdeen, prisoner in Carlisle.

*Gilbert, William, Servant, Cushnie, Banffshire.

Gill, Alex., Servant, Cushnie, Banff.

Gill, George, Shoemaker, Bridgend, Aberdeenshire, at Inverurie battle.

Gillespie, John, Slater, Turriff, a "Reconnoitring" Officer.

Glashan, George, Servant, Bagrie Mill, Aberdeen.

Glass, James, Glenmuick, "an Officer, one of those who took the Excise officers prisoners for to deliver their books to him."

*Glennie, William, Gardener, Port of Aberdeen.

Goodbrand, John, Wright, Cullen.

*Goodbrand, Alex., Carpenter, Banff, transported.

Gordon, Alexander, resided at Refreish, Banffshire, a Lieut.

Gordon, Alexander, Gentleman, Fochabers, a Captain, "was at the affair of Keith, whereabouts not known."

Gordon, Alex., Backside of Clashmore.

*Gordon, Charles, Strathaven, in Carlisle, transported, but drowned going on board.

Gordon, Donald, Delavorar, killed.

Gordon, Francis, Shoemaker, Aberdeen, of the Tilphoudie family.

Gordon, George, Tomintoul, killed.

Gordon, George, Blacksmith, Cullen.

Gordon, George, Newtown of Glenlivet.

Gordon, George, Farmer, Muiryfold, Grange.

Gordon, Ishmael, Servant, Gaulrig, Banffshire.

Gordon, James, Achlanie, an Officer, killed.

*Gordon, James, Banffshire, prisoner at Inverness.

Gordon, James, Croft of Minmore.

Gordon, John, Farmer, Borter, Banff, acted as a spy and was taken.

Gordon, John, Lynavoir, Tomintoul, prisoner.

Gordon, John, Clashmore, Ensign. His house was burnt.

Gordon, John, Inchnacape, Tomintoul.

Gordon, John, Servant to Carnousie.

Gordon, Lewis, Miln of Laggan, carried arms and collected cess.

Gordon, Peter, Innkeeper, Strathbogie.

*Gordon, Robert, prisoner at Carlisle.

Gordon, Robert, Nether Clashmore.
*Gordon, Thomas, Strathbogie.
Gordon, William, Farmer, Newmill, Banff.
Gordon, William, Farmer, Ferrar, Aboyne.
Gordon, William, Dell, Avonside.
Gordon, William, Glenrinnes.
*Gordon, William, Aberdeen, prisoner in Inverness.
Gow, Alex., Ruthven in Kirkmichael.
Gow, William, Salmon Fisher, Don Bridge, Old Machar.
Grant, Alex., Nether Cluny, carried arms in the character of an officer.
*Grant, Alex., Carpenter, Aberdeen, transported.
Grant, Alex., brother to Neivie.
Grant, Alex., Calier, Glenlivet.
Grant, Alex., Backside of Clashmore.
Grant, Alex., Deskie, Glenrinnes.
Grant, Alex., Farmer, Croftbain.
Grant, Charles, Tomdonach, Glenlivet, Lieut. and deserter.
Grant, David, Old Meldrum.
Grant, Donald, Easter Gaulrig, Tomintoul.
Grant, Grigor, Delavorar.
Grant, Humphrey, Weaver, Banff, a Lieutenant in the Duke of Perth's Regiment.
*Grant, James, Miller in Inchnacape. His house was burnt.
Grant, James, Fiddler, Haddo, Banffshire.
Grant, James, Delnabo, Tomintoul.
Grant, John, Servant, Haddo, Banffshire.
Grant, John, Servant to Sir W. Gordon of Park.
Grant, John, Loanbeg, Banffshire.
Grant, John, Farmer, Croftbain.
Grant, John, Farmer, Glenlivet.
Grant, John, Deskie, Banffshire.
Grant, John, Junr., Deskie, Banffshire.
*Grant, John, Inverlochy, Glenconglass. His house was burnt.
Grant, John Roy, Demickmore, Glenlivet.
*Grant, John Roy, Wheelwright, Aberdeen, in the Tolbooth.
Grant, John, Merchant, Tomintoul.

*Grant, John, son to the above.
Grant, John, Upper Drumin.
Grant, John, Weaver, Tombreck.
Grant, John, Tomnavoulin, Glenlivet.
Grant, Lewis, Little Neivie, was at the spoiling of Cullen House.
Grant, Neil, Tomaclagan, Glenconglass.
Grant, Patrick, Inchnacape.
Grant, Peter Roy, Badiglashean, Ballindalloch.
Grant, Peter, Delavorar.
Grant, Peter, Wester Fodderletter.
Grant, Peter, Gaulrig, was forced out, and twice deserted.
*Grant, Robert, Aberdeenshire, prisoner at Culloden.
*Grant, William, Banffshire, prisoner at Carlisle.
Grant, William, Tomintoul.
Grant, Mr. William, a Popish Priest, Balivaler, Banffshire.
Grant, William, Clagan, Glenlivet.
Grant, William, Tomnavoulin, Glenlivet.
Grant, William, Gaulrig.
Grant, William, Findran, Banffshire.
Grant, William Roy, Balnacoull, Craigellachie.
Grant, William, Fodderletter.
Gray, John, Servant, Keith.
*Gray, John, Keith, in Carlisle garrison, transported.
Gray, William, Salmon Fisher, Don Bridge.
Gray, William, Salmon Fisher, Fochabers, was at the plundering of Cullen House.
*Guissoch, John, Avochie's Regiment, of Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.
Guthrie, James, Servant, Rannes, very active.

Hacket, Charles, Labourer, Aberdeen, transported.
*Hasben, James, Banff, Ogilvie's Regiment, prisoner at Culloden.
Hay, Alex., Blacksmith, Fochabers.
Hay, James, Ensign in Lord Pitsligo's Regiment.
Hay, John, Wright, Delgaty, a Recruiting Officer, and the principal person who proclaimed the Pretender at Turriff and drank rebellious healths.

Hepburn, Peter, Farmer, Ardin, had a commission from Gordon of Glenbucket to recruit.

Hector, John, Salmon Fisher, Cruives, Old Machar.

*Hendry, John, parish of Skene, deserter from Guise's Regt.

Hendry, Robert, Servant to Sir William Dunbar, Durn.

*Hendry, Sanders, Private in Duke of Perth's Regiment, of Wardmill, Aberdeen, in Carlisle.

Hogg, John, Extraordinary Tidesman, Aberdeen.

*Hosie, ——, Servant to Brux, Farmer at Dukerton.

Hunter, John, Labourer, Lochshangie, Kemnay.

Imbry, Alex., Lochloun, Banchory.

Ingram, John, Workman, Loanhead, Old Machar.

Ingram, John, Perrys Miln, Aberdeen.

Innes, Alex., Balmdrarvan, forced out and deserted.

Innes, James, Wig-maker, Fochabers.

*Innes, John, of Buchan, prisoner in Inverness.

Innes, John, Wright, Aberdeen, acted as Ensign.

Innes, John, Balmdrarvan, forced out.

Innes, Patrick, Weaver, Edindiach.

Innes, Robert, Wester Fodderletter.

*Innes, William, Banff, Fiddler to Charles Gordon of Buckie.

Innes, William, Wig-maker, Fochabers.

*Irons, Robert, Aberdeenshire.

*Irvine, Charles, Surgeon, Aberdeen.

*Irvine, James, Servant to William Booth, Aberdeen. "Under suspicion for having been out of town when the army was here."

*Jaffrey, George, Servant to William Booth, Aberdeen.

Jaffrey, James, Joiner, Aberdeen.

Jaffrey, Thomas, Under Gaoler, Aberdeen.

*Johnston, James, "Bleetcher," Aberdeen.

Johnston, John, Servant, Burnhead, Carnousie.

*Johnstone, William, Aberdeen, turned evidence at the York trials and was released.

*Jopp, John, Carpenter, Banff, Carlisle garrison, transported.

*Joiner, David, Labourer, Aberdeen, transported.

Joyner, James, Householder, Portsoy.
Joyner, James, Servant, Towks, Banff.
*Joyner, James, Aberdeen, taken at Carlisle.

Keith, David, Workman, Hardgate, Old Machar.
*Keith, George, Shoemaker, Aberdeen, prisoner in York, transported.
*Kemno, Joseph, Blacksmith, Hardgate, Old Machar.
Kennedy, John, Deskie.
Kennedy, Robert, Durn.
Kerr, Alex., Weaver, Keith, Private, hired out.
Kilgour, Peter, Dyster, Ellon.
King, James, Darrow, Banff.
Knows, Robert, Salmon Fisher, Nether Banchory.
Knows, William, Salmon Fisher, Nether Banchory.
Kynnach, John, Burnt-brae, Alvah.

Laing, John, Labourer, Turnerhall, Ellon.
*Laing, Thomas, Livingstones Yards, transported.
Laing, William, Servant, Fochabers.
Lamb, William, Achnakyle, Banffshire.
*Lamond, John, Aberdeen, Groom to the Duke of Perth.
Largs, Joseph, Journeyman Saddler, Aberdeen.
*Lawson, Alexander, in Badentoy, apprehended for harbouring rebels. Prisoner in Aberdeen.
*Lawson, John, brother of above, in Stoneywood's Regiment.
*Laurie, James, Shoemaker, Banff, prisoner but discharged.
*Ledderkin, Alex., Aberdeen, Monaltrie's Regiment, prisoner at Culloden.
Legat, George, Merchant and Tailor, Ellon, "always kept rejoicing when the rebels met with a success."
Leith, Alex., Mason, Turriff.
Leith, George, Salmon Fisher, Aberdeen.
Leith, John, Innkeeper, Strathbogie.
Leith, William, Indweller in Aberdeen, prisoner there.
Leith, William, Tobacconist, Old Aberdeen, prisoner in Elgin.
Leslie, Alex., Farmer, Auchinhanich, Banffshire, Ensign.
Leslie, James, Servant, Old Meldrum.

Leslie, John, Labourer, Old Meldrum.

Leslie, William, a Farmer's son, Hillhead of Turriff.

*Lew, James, Banffshire, prisoner at Southwark.

Ley, Thomas, Labourer, Tullich, Glenmuick.

Ley, William, deserter from the army, Charlestown, Aboyne, a Sergeant.

Lind, George, Labourer, Old Meldrum.

Lind, George, Smith, Old Meldrum.

Lines, Andrew, Labourer, Blackhall, Aberdeenshire, a Sergeant.

Logie, Patrick, Writer, Aberdeen, acted as Land Waiter and Officer of Excise.

Longmuir, Charles, Labourer, Nigg, near Aberdeen.

Lorimer, William, Farmer, Ironhill, Pitsligo.

Low, John, Farmer, Aboyne, a Sergeant.

Lowpen, Alex., Mason, Strathbogie.

Luckie, John, son to William Luckie, Shoemaker, Aberdeen, prisoner.

McAdam, William, Shenval, deserted September, 1745.

McAlister, Alex., Tomnavoulin, Glenlivet.

McAllan, John, Tomintoul.

McAlpin, Pat, Gaulrig.

*McAndrew, John, Servant to John MacAndrew in Glenmuick.

*MacAndrew, John, Monaltrie's Regiment, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.

McAngus, Wm., Lettoch, Glenrinnes.

*McConnach, John, Servant to Charles Gordon of Blelack.

McCook, Hercules, Shoemaker, Spittal, Old Machar.

*McCrody, James, Miltown of Shenval.

MacDonald, Alex., Delnabo, Banffshire.

McDonald, Alex., Servant, Cairnwhelp, Aberdeenshire.

McDonald, Alex., Servant, Minmore.

McDonald, Angus, Servant, Pitchaish.

McDonald, Angus, Servant, Candelmore.

McDonald, Angus, Servant, Tomnahanan, Kirkmichael.

McDonald, Coll, Badivochal.

McDonald, Donald, Balintomb, Kirkmichael

McDonald, George, Nether Achdregnie.
*McDonald, George, Aberdeen, Monaltrie's Regiment, prisoner at Culloden.
McDonald, James, Inveraven, Banffshire.
McDonald, James, Middle Achdregnie.
*McDonald, James, Banff, transported.
McDonald, James, Badivochal.
*McDonald, Jane, Strathbogie, followed Clanranald's Regt.
McDonald, John, Auchriachan.
McDonald, John, Banff, transported.
McDonald, Peter, Tomintoul.
McDonald, Robert, Tarravan, Banffshire.
McDonald, Ronald, Servant at Brick-kilns, Old Machar.
*McDonald, Thomas, Messenger, in the Tolbooth.
McDonald, William, Piper, Portsoy. (Ancestor of George Macdonald, Author.)
McDonald, William, Tailor, Tarravan.
*McDougall, Daniel, in the Tolbooth, Aberdeen.
McGee, Hugh, Sailor, Aberdeen.
McGlashan, William, Horsehirer, Strathbogie.
McGrath, Alex., Fodderletter.
McGrigor, Alex., Bellachnochlan, Avenside.
McGrigor, Alex., Workman, Loanhead, Old Machar.
McGrigor, Evan, Candelmore.
*McGrigor, Duncan, Ensign in Monaltrie's Regiment, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden, acquitted.
McGrigor, Malcolm, Achnakyle, Banffshire.
McGrigor, Roy, Delnabo, deserter.
McGrigor, John, Wester Gaulrig.
McGrigor, William, Findran, killed
McGurman, John, Wester Gaulrig.
McHardie, William, Glen of Auchriachan.
McIntosh, Alex., Tacksman in Elrig, Captain.
McIntosh, John, Easter Inverourie, Banffshire.
Mackie, Alex., Servant, Banff.
Mackie, Alex., Servant, Keith.
Mackie, Peter, a Farmer's son, Midbelty, Kincardine O'Neil.

McKay, Donald, Servant, Fochabers.
*McKay, Hugh, formerly Cook to the Duke of Gordon, prisoner in Banff.
McKay, John, Merchant, Balno, Glenlivet.
*McKay, Robert, Nether Clashmore.
McKay, Robert, Bellachnochlan, Avenside.
*McKay, Thomas, Banffshire, prisoner.
McKenzie, Donald, Mason, Strathbogie.
McKenzie, Kenneth, Servant, Dell.
McKenzie, John, Merchant, Dalmore, Banffshire.
*McKenzie, John, Banffshire, prisoner.
*McKenzie, Thomas, Botriphnie, Banffshire.
*McKenzie, William, residenter in Banff, bore arms.
McLaghlan, George, Calier, Banffshire.
*McLaghlan, James, prisoner in Carlisle.
*McLaghlan, John, prisoner in Carlisle.
McLaughlan, John, Badivochal, Labouring man, aged 69.
McLaughlan, Peter, Weaver, Fochabers.
McLea, Alex., Upper Downan, Banffshire.
McLea, Allan, Badiglashean.
McLea, James, Carloch, Morinsh.
McLea, John, Clagan, Glenlivet.
McLea, Robert, Coull, Banffshire.
McLea, William, Souie, Glenlivet.
McLean, John, Servant to James Tower, Ferryhill, Aberdeen.
McPherson, Alex., Blarchybeg.
McPherson, Alex., Milton of Auchriachan.
McPherson, Donald, "Brachachy."
McPherson, John, Eldridge, Cabrach.
McPherson, John, Auchriachan.
McPherson, John, Fodderletter.
McPherson, Malcolm, Senior, of Phonas, Banffshire, a Captain.
McPherson, Thomas, Achnarrow, Glenlivet.
McRobie, William, Tomachork, Banffshire.
McRobie, William, Morinsh, killed.
*McWilliam, John, Croughly.

McWillie, David, Auchriachan, in the Glens.

McWillie, James, Servant, Croughly, deserted from the King's army.

*Maine, John, prisoner, Aberdeen, Fisher of Footdee, transported.

Mair, James, Servant, Strathbogie.

*Mair, John, Whitefisher, Footdee, prisoner in Aberdeen.

Malcolm, William, Weaver, Keith.

*Marnoch, Alex., Shoemaker, Aberdeen, transported.

Marr, David, Flesher, Aberdeen.

*Marr, John, prisoner at Carlisle, turned King's evidence, of Aberdeen.

Marr, Robert, Flesher, Aberdeen.

Marr, Robert, Wright, Aberdeen.

Marr, Thomas, Mason, Banff.

*"Martha," Walter, "Guegh," Aberdeenshire, from a list in the P.R.O. (Probably the name was Matthew and the home Gight.)

Martin, Alex., Candelmore.

Martin, George, Tomaclagan, Glenlivet.

*Mason, James, Aberdeen, prisoner at Aberdeen.

*Mason, John, Wright, prisoner, transported.

*Mason, John, Whitefisher, Aberdeen.

*Mason, John, Barber, Aberdeen.

Massie, Robert, Turriff.

*Masson, John, Whitefisher in Footdee.

Matheson, Alex., Labourer, Old Rayne.

Matheson, David, Tailor, Strathbogie, hired out by the inhabitants.

Matheson, David, Labourer, Old Rayne.

Maver, James, Turriff, ran express with the Laird of Grant's letter to the Laird of Macleod. Taken prisoner after Culloden.

Maver, William, Ale Seller, Turriff, father of above.

*Melvin, Alex., Servant to William Menzies of Pitfoddels.

*Melvin, Alex., prisoner in Aberdeen.

*Melvin, William, prisoner in Aberdeen.

Mensat, John, Weaver, Achdregnie, Banffshire.

*Menzies, Alex., prisoner in Aberdeen.
Merns, Alex., Labourer, Insch.
*Merry, George, Aberdeenshire, at Culloden.
Michie, John, West Achmore, Glenrinnes.
*Middleton, Alex., Servant, prisoner at Carlisle, transported.
Middleton, James, Labourer, Tilphoody, Aboyne.
*Middleton, James, Banffshire, at Culloden.
Middleton, James, Bellandy, dead.
Middleton, Robert, Porter, Fraserburgh, carried letters.
*Middleton, Samuel, pressed men for Pitfoddels Company.
Middleton, Samuel, Labourer, Coull.
Middleton, William, Labourer, Coull.
*Mill, Andrew, Servant to a Farmer in Tullycairn.
*Mill, John, Labourer, Longside, prisoner in Chester.
Mill, William, Merchant, Ellon, "made great rejoicings at rebels' success."
*Miller, William, Inchnacape, Banffshire. House burnt.
Million, Alex., Shoemaker, Banchory, levied money, killed.
*Mills, William, Servant, Aberdeen, transported.
*Miln, James, Pitfoddels.
*Miln, William, prisoner at Culloden, Aberdeen.
*Milne, Andrew, Tailor, Banff, Carlisle garrison, transported.
Milne, George, Bridgend, Turriff.
Milne, George, son of Innkeeper, Turriff.
*Milne, George, Croft of Inverlochy. His house was burnt.
Milne, John, Servant, Boadford, Banff.
Milne, William, Turriff.
Milne, William, son to James Milne, Mason, Banff.
*Mitchell, Alex., Banff, Servant to Stewart of Bog, transported.
Mitchell, Alex., Farmer, Cairnwhelp, Aberdeenshire.
Mitchell, George, Workman, Loanhead.
*Mitchell, James, Arnhall, Aberdeenshire, executed at Carlisle.
Mitchell, James, Weaver, Keith, executed at Carlisle.
*Mitchell, James, Labourer, Aberdeen, forcibly carried along with the army.
Mitchell, James, Workman, Loanhead.

Mitchell, Robert, Barber, Aberdeen, a Sergeant.

Mitchell, William, Farmer, Piltachy, Ellon.

*Moir, Colin, Badivochal.

*Moir, Donald, Dinnet, wounded at Culloden.

Moir, James, Shoemaker, Old Aberdeen, assisted in unloading the ships.

*Moll, John, Braehead, Aberdeen.

Montgomery, Peter, Saddler, Fochabers.

Montgomery, Robert, Beggar, Old Aberdeen.

More, John, Auchmore, Midmar.

More, John, Junr., Auchmore, Midmar.

More, Peter, Knockando, Banffshire.

Morgan, Charles, Servant, Ellon.

*Morgan, George, Aberdeen, prisoner.

*Morgan, Peter, Fodderletter.

Morise, James, Servant, Ellon.

Morison, Alex., Sailor, Fraserburgh, concerned in apprehending Captain Alex. Grant going to join Lord Loudoun at Inverness.

Morison, Alex., Knockieburn, Turriff.

Morison, John, Servant, Auchterless.

*Morison, John, Banffshire, at Culloden.

Morison, William, Servant, Dorlaithers.

Morrison, Alex., Farmer, Muckle Colp.

Muir, Alex., East Pitchaish, Surgeon.

Muir, Robert, Writer, Aberdeen, Hussar.

*Mull, George, Aberdeenshire, prisoner.

*Munzie, Alex., imprisoned in Aberdeen.

*Murdo, William, Shoemaker's Servant, Aberdeen, one of those who brought Spanish arms from Peterhead.

*Murdoch, George, Farmer, Reekie, Alford, prisoner at Culloden.

*Murdoch, ——, brother of above, killed at Culloden.

*Murray, John, Aberdeen, Glenbucket's Regiment, in Carlisle, transported.

Murray, Peter, Servant to Wm. Coutts, prisoner in Aberdeen. Had to find caution for good behaviour.

Mutch, George, Labourer, Little Arnage, joined after Falkirk.

Mutch, John, Labourer, Ellon, joined after Falkirk.

*Nairn, Thomas, Chapman, Strathdon, transported.

*Neilson, John, Aberdeen, at Carlisle, transported.

*Nicol, George, Weaver, Aberdeen, at Carlisle.

*Nicol, Walter, prisoner in Aberdeen.

*Nicoll, ——, great-grandfather of the Rev. Harry Nicoll, minister of Auchindoir, father of Dr. Robertson Nicoll.

*Nicholls, Isabel, Aberdeen, followed Pitsligo's Regiment.

Nicolson, Alex., Inveraven.

Nicolson, William, Servant, Strathbogie, hired out.

*Nicholson, George, Aberdeenshire, prisoner.

*Nicholson, Gilbert, Aberdeenshire, prisoner.

Niddray, Alex., Weaver, Fraserburgh.

Nisbet, William, Tenant of Lady Erroll, and forced out by her.

Norald, Adam, Labourer, Old Meldrum.

*Ochterlony, David, Servant to Andrew Skene, Chirurgeon, prisoner, Aberdeen.

Ogg, William, Labourer, Muryhall, Aboyne.

Ogilvie, Alex., Shoemaker, Corridoun.

*Ogilvie, David, prisoner in the Tolbooth, Aberdeen.

Ogilvie, Patrick, Servant, Ardoch, lurking in house of Patrick Duff.

Ogilvie, William, Merchant, Aberdeen.

Oldman, James, Aldie, Cruden, joined after Preston.

Ord, James, Wigmaker, Cullen, one of the Hussars.

Panton, Alex., Innkeeper, Turriff, assisted in robbing James Paterson, carrier, Banff.

Paterson, Alex., Labourer, Todlochy, Monymusk.

Paterson, George, Householder, New Durn.

*Paterson, James, Banff, Servant to Mergie.

Paterson, Robert, Labourer, Old Meldrum.

*Paterson, Robert, Hosier, Aberdeen, transported.

Paton, George, Journeyman Shoemaker, Aberdeen, was concerned in some mobs, for which he was apprehended, but afterwards admitted to bail.

Paton, William, Tomintoul.

*Pattison, Robert, Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison.
Peirie, Alex., Old Meldrum.
Peirie, Charles, Miln o' Auchter, Ellon.
*Petrie, Lewis, Servant to Dr. Forbes, in prison in Aberdeen.
Petrie, William, Portsoy.
*Philip, William, Weaver, Aberdeen.
Pirie, Andrew, Labourer, Ellon.
Pirie, John, Servant to Dorlaithers.

*Quin, Alex., Fochabers.

*Ramsay, Charles, Sen., Merchant, Aberdeen, prisoner in Tolbooth.
*Ramsay, Charles, Junr., Merchant, Aberdeen, prisoner in Tolbooth.
Ramsay, Kenneth, Labourer, Old Meldrum.
Ramsay, William, Labourer, Loanhead.
*Ranald, Francis, Herd in Strathbogie.
Rannie, John, Labourer, Old Meldrum.
Rattray, John, Balno, Banffshire.
*Reid, Alex., Aberdeen, escaped from Edinburgh Castle.
Reid, Donald, Labourer, Braemar.
*Reid, George, Labourer, Banff, in Carlisle, transported.
*Reid, James, Aberdeen, in Carlisle.
*Reid, James, Wright, Aboyne, forced by Gordon of Blelack.
Reid, John, Stabler, Aberdeen.
Reid, Robert, Mason, Aberdeen.
*Reid, Robert, Aberdeen, executed at Carlisle. Was in arms in a mob on Prince of Wales' birthday. Recruited men in Aberdeen.
Reid, Robert, Servant, Charlestown of Aboyne.
*Reid, William, Aberdeen, in the Tolbooth.
Reith, Alex., Tailor, Gateside, Upper Banchory.
Reoch, Alex., Gaulrig.
*Reoch, Alex., Cordwainer, Aberdeen, in London in custody of Carrington, Messenger. An evidence.
Reoch, Donald, Elrig, Kirkmichael.
Reoch, James, Candelmore, Banffshire.

Reoch, John, Wester Fodderletter.

*Riach, John, Servant to Monaltrie, and evidence against him.

*Reynolds, Francis, Herd in Strathbogie.

*Reynoldson, James, Weaver, Fetternear, transported.

*Richard, William, Aberdeen, in Carlisle.

Ritchy, Andrew, Horsehirer, Old Aberdeen.

*Robb, Elizabeth, Aberdeen, a Knitter, transported.

Robb, James, late Servant to Sheriff Clerk, Aberdeen, at Aberdeen.

*Robertson, Alex., Chapman, in Rubislaw.

*Robertson, Alex., Aberdeen, in Tolbooth.

Robertson, Alex., Labourer, Clintarty, Birse.

Robertson, Charles, Balmlagan (Balanallen, Avenside).

Robertson, James, Servant, Wintertown, Banff.

Robertson, John, Wright, Aberdeen.

Robertson, John, Labourer, Mickle Wartle, Rayne.

Robertson, Patrick, Servant, Findlater, Banff.

Robertson, Peter, Piper, Fochabers.

Robison, John, Innkeeper, Strathbogie, "hyr'd out by the inhabitants, who were forced thereto by John Gordon of Avochie."

*Ronald, Alex., Bankhead of Auchindoir, was at Culloden. His dirk is in the Museum at Clova.

*Rose, William, Aberdeen, Gunner at Carlisle.

Ross, Alex., Servant, Down, Banff.

Ross, Alex., Farmer, Tullich, Glenmuick.

Ross, Charles, formerly a Soldier, Fochabers.

*Ross, Donald, Aberdeenshire, prisoner at Culloden.

Ross, Francis, Surgeon, Old Meldrum.

Ross, Hugh, Labourer, Wester Clunie.

Ross, James, Apprentice, Aberdeen, Ensign.

Ross, John, Sailor, Aberdeen, acted as an Officer.

Ross, John, Flesher, Aberdeen, prisoner.

Ross, John, Servant, Scalan.

Ross, Robert, Kirkhill, Tomintoul.

Ross, Robert, Gardener, Aberdeen.

Ross, Robert, Porter, Aberdeen.

Ross, Robert, Tomnalinan, Glenlivet.

*Ross, Robert, in Tolbooth, Aberdeen, Labourer.
*Ross, Thomas, Wright, Mill of Collithie.
*Ross, Thomas, 63, Aberdeen, in Carlisle, transported.
*Ross, William, Sailor, Aberdeenshire, in Carlisle, transported.
Ross, William, Ruthven in Kirkmichael.
*Roy, Hugh, Aberdeen, at Carlisle.
*Roy, John, Aberdeen, at Carlisle, son of above.
*Roy, John, Innkeeper, Cabrach. House burnt.
Roy, John, Servant, Turriff.
Roy-Stuart, John, Tombreac, Banffshire.
Roy-Grant, Peter, Badiglashean, Ballindalloch.
Russel, Hugh, Apprentice, Aberdeen, at the skirmish of Inverurie.
*Russell, David, Glover, Aberdeen.

*Sangster, Charles, Lonmay, accidentally shot, March, 1746. Buried at Essil.
Sangster, William, Labourer, Bullers of Buchan.
Sandison, Peter, Labourer, Glenmuick.
Scot, Alex., Labourer, Turnilove, Cruden.
Scot, William, Servant, Carnousie.
Scot, William, Farmer, Blackwater, St. Fergus.
Scroggy, Robert, Servant-lad, Eshly, Upper Banchory.
*Scroggie, William, 15, Aberdeenshire, prisoner in Inverness.
*Shand, Andrew, Husbandman, Banff.
Shand, William, Servant, Corsairtly, taken at Culloden.
*Shand, William, Husbandman, Banff.
Shanks, Alex., Chapel of Garioch, Aberdeenshire.
*Sharpe, William, Labourer, Aberdeen, at Carlisle, transported.
Shaw, John, Fiddler, Aberdeen.
Sherrif, John, Barber, Aberdeen.
Shives, Alex., Labourer, Old Meldrum.
Skene, John, Tailor, Turriff.
Sill, James, Merchant, Aberdeen.
Simpson, Adam, Cottar, Glengerack, said to be hired out.
Simpson, James, Charlestown, Aboyne, said to be forced.

Simpson, John, Farmer, Auchinhove, Lieutenant. Was at the skirmish at Keith.
Simpson, John, Bleacher, Grange.
*Simpson, John, Merchant, Huntly, Officer of Hussars.
*Sinclair, Gilbert, Keith, deserter, prisoner at Culloden.
Sinclair, John, Fiddler, Newmills of Boyne, prisoner in Banff.
*Smart, John, Servant to Adam Hay of Asleid, and evidence against him. Prisoner at Tilbury.
Smith, Alex., Labourer, Old Meldrum.
Smith, Alex., Servant, Drindolo, Aberdeen.
Smith, Alex., Labourer, Glentanar.
*Smith, Andrew, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden. Crichton's Regiment.
*Smith, Betty, prisoner in Aberdeen.
*Smith, Edward, House Carpenter, Banff, transported.
Smith, Francis, Senr., Servant, Charlestown, Aboyne.
Smith, Francis, Junr., Servant, Charlestown, Aboyne.
*Smith, George, Husbandman at Cairnbulg, Aberdeenshire.
Smith, George, Farmer, Welcomin, Aberdeen.
Smith, George, Farmer, Upper Bridge-end, Aberdeenshire.
*Smith, James, prisoner at Culloden.
*Smith, James, Writer, Newmills of Boyne.
Smith, James, Workman, Loanhead, Old Machar.
Smith, James, Labourer, Old Deer.
Smith, James, Labourer, Old Meldrum.
*Smith, John, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.
*Smith, John, Goldsmith, Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison.
Smith, John, Labourer, Old Deer.
*Smith, John, Husbandman, Aberdeen, at Culloden.
Smith, Robert, Inverourie, Banffshire.
Smith, Peter, Labourer, Auchlossan, Lumphanan.
Smith, William, Labourer, Yonderton, Ellon.
Smith, William, Carrier, Keith.
*Smith, William, Banff, pardoned on condition of enlistment.
Soutar, John, Labourer, Ellon.
*Spens, John, Labourer, Miln of Botom, Insch.
Steel, Alex., Tillytarmint, Banffshire.

*Steill, James, Merchant, in the Tolbooth, Aberdeen.

Steuart, James, Wigmaker, Turriff.

Steuart, William, Journeyman Baker, Turriff.

*Stewart, David, Banff, prisoner at Carlisle, transported.

*Stewart, Duncan, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.

*Stewart, James, in Aberdeen Tolbooth.

*Stewart, James, Captain, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.

*Stewart, John, Labourer, Banff, transported.

Stivenson, James, Servant, Edingight.

Stodhart, William, Innkeeper, Keith. Was a spy on the Royal Army, and conducted the Highlanders to attack the Campbells at Keith.

Stot, James, Slater, Aberdeen.

Strachan, James, Extraordinary Tidesman, Aberdeen.

*Strachan, John, a Dyster, Aberdeen, in the Tolbooth.

*Streethead, James, Banff, prisoner at Carlisle.

Stuart, Alex., Horsehirer, Strathbogie.

Stuart, Alex., Upper Achlichny, Kirkmichael.

Stuart, Alex., Tacksman of Excise, Tomnavoulin, Glenlivet, an Ensign.

Stuart, Allan, Gaulrig, Banffshire.

Stuart, Allan, Newtown of Glenlivet.

Stuart, Angus, Farmer, Parkbeg, Ensign in Roy Stuart's Regiment.

Stuart, Angus Dow, Achnakyle, Banffshire.

Stuart, Donald, Glack, Banffshire.

Stuart, Donald, Findran, Tomintoul.

Stuart, Donald, Ruthven of Kirkmichael, was at the rifling of Cullen House.

Stuart, Donald, Achnakyle, Kirkmichael.

Stuart, Donald, Glenconglass.

Stuart, George, Badivochal, Glenlivet.

Stuart, Lewis, Balachnockan, Deskie.

Stuart, James, East Inverourie, Avenside, Banffshire.

*Stuart, James, Aberdeenshire, prisoner.

*Stuart, John, Aberdeenshire, prisoner.

Stuart, John, Glenconglass.

Stuart, John, Findran, Tomintoul.

Stuart, John, Torbain, Kirkmichael.
Stuart, John, East Inverourie, Banffshire.
Stuart, John, Tomnavoulin.
Stuart, John, Junr., Balachnockan, Deskie.
Stuart, John, Upper Achdregnie.
Stuart, John, *alias* Dow, Upper Achdregnie.
Stuart, John, Delavorar.
Stuart, Peter, *alias* Dow, Badivochal, Glenlivet.
Stuart, Patrick, Croughly.
Stuart, Patrick, Farmer, Tinninder, carried arms as a Captain.
Stuart, Robert, Badivochal, Glenlivet.
Stuart, Robert, Downan, Deskie.
Stuart, Robert, Servant to Glenbucket.
Stuart, Thomas, Gardener to the Countess of Erroll.
Stuart, William, Bregach, a Captain, and very active in raising men.
Stuart, William, Clashmore.
Stuart, William, Old Leek, Aberlour.
Stuart, William, West Achivaich.
Sutherland, Alex., Wright, Fochabers.
Sutherland, George, Servant, Fochabers.
Suitor, John, Labourer, Ellon.
*Sutter, John, Joiner, Ellon, Carlisle garrison, transported.
Symers, Alex., Gardener, Aberdeen.

Taylor, James, Shoemaker, Newmills of Boyn.
Taylor, James, Farmer, Pitmain, Banffshire.
*Taylor, John, Aberdeenshire, prisoner.
Taylor, Robert, Labourer, Old Meldrum, beat the drum and carried French colours before an Officer who enlisted men.
Taylor, William, Croughly.
Taylor, William, Farmer's son, Dallachy, an Ensign and very active.
Thain, James, Servant to John Turras, Old Meldrum.
Thain, John, Mason, Strathbogie.
*Thom, William, Writer, Aberdeen, in the Tolbooth.
Thomson, Alex., Sailor, Peterhead.

*Thomson, James, Labourer, Aberdeen, transported.
Thomson, John, Merchant, Old Aberdeen.
*Thompson, John, Banff, Carlisle garrison, transported.
Tilleray, Andrew, Horsehirer, Aberdeen.
Tillan, Alex., Horsehirer, Old Aberdeen.
*Topp, John, Carpenter, Banff, transported.
*Trail, William, Aberdeen, in the Tolbooth.
*Trail, William, Banff, prisoner at Culloden.
Troup, Charles, Servant, Pitenkerry, Upper Banchory.
Turner, Duncan, Candelmore.
Turner, John, "Birchlayer," Aberdeen, Sergeant.
Turner, William, Middle Downan, Deskie.
Turras, John, Smith, Old Meldrum.
Tyrie, David, Servant, Ellon.

Urquhart, Kenneth, Upper Cults, Banffshire.
*Urquhart, James, Labourer, Aberdeen, Carlisle garrison.
*Urquhart, James, Aberdeen, prisoner at Culloden.

*Wales, George, Whitefisher in Footdee.
*Walker, Andrew, Merchant, Aberdeen, to find caution for good behaviour.
*Walker, John, Aberdeenshire, prisoner after Culloden.
Walker, John, Servant, Drumbulg, Aberdeenshire.
Walker, William, Waukmill, Aberdeenshire.
Walker, William, Servant to Wm. Maver, Turriff.
*Warren, Robert, Weaver, Aberdeenshire, transported.
Watt, John, Fisherman, Gamrie.
Watt, William, Servant, Auchmedden.
*Watson, Alex., Banff, prisoner at Perth, 23rd October, 1746. Enlisted to escape transportation.
*Watson, George, Labourer, Banff, at Carlisle, transported.
Watson, James, Merchant, Keith. Quartermaster in Roy Stuart's Regiment. Was at the Battle of Culloden and there killed.
*Weaver, William, Aberdeenshire, prisoner in Inverness.
Webster, James, Servant, Balnaboth, Birse.
Weir, George, Workman, Loanhead.

White, Alex., Hookmaker, Aberdeen.

White, Daniel, Hookmaker, Aberdeen.

White, George, Mill of Gask, Turriff.

*Wight, Harry, was among the garrison that brought Spanish arms from Peterhead.

*Wilkie, Sanders, Aberdeen, prisoner.

Wilkin, Alex., Farmer, Kinharrachy, Ellon.

Wilkins, Joseph, Weaver, Old Aberdeen.

Williamson, Alex., Croft of Minmore.

Wilson, Alex., Servant to Sir Wm. Gordon of Park.

Wilson, David, Servant to Sir Wm. Gordon of Park.

*Wilson, John, Labourer, Kennethmont.

Wilson, Robert, Wright, Fochabers.

Wilson, William, Turriff.

Wilson, William, Servant to Wm. Maver, Keith, assisted in robbing James Paterson, carrier of the Laird of Grant's letter.

*Wilson, William, Tailor, of Ellon. He made some of the clothes for the Highlanders, and followed them north for payment.

Wilson, William, Farmer, Kirkhill, Ellon.

Wishart, James, Banff, Labourer, Carlisle garrison, pardoned on condition of enlistment.

*Wishart, William, prisoner in Tolbooth, Aberdeen.

*Withols, Isobel, Aberdeen, followed Lord Pitsligo's Regiment.

*Wyer, John, prisoner after Culloden. Deserter from the Royal Scots.

Wright, Alexander, Sub-tenant, Glengerach, Banff.

Wright, John, Tailor, Strathbogie, said to be hired by the inhabitants.

*Yates, Francis, Weaver, Clunybeg, Banffshire, in Carlisle garrison.

*Yates, William, Labourer, Fochabers, in Carlisle garrison.

*Young, Magnus, Aberdeen, Monaltrie's Regiment, prisoner at Culloden.

As we have seen, a certain number of women

followed the army from Banffshire and Aberdeen. Among these were the resourceful persons here described.

"Whitehaven, August 20, 1746.

To John Larpent Esq. at the Duke of Newcastle's office at Whitehall.

Sir,

I thought it my duty to acquaint you that in obedience to his Grace's order, I delivered the 20 Rebel prisoners to Mr. John Money and Mr. James Brettel, two of his Majesty's Messengers in Ordinary, and assisted in conveying the said prisoners to Carlisle and waited there 3 or 4 days to know if there was anything informated against the Women and likewise to know what I must do with them, but could hear nothing about them. But to my great surprise and Vexation, I found my family in great confusion when I came home, for on the 13th Inst. at night, the Rebel Woman had made their escape by undermining the foundation the House of Correction and so geting out. I humbly hope his Grace will not atribute it to any neglect of me or my family, we having no guard.

Thomas Whiteside,
Master of the House of Correction."

APPENDIX.

An Echo of the "Forty-Five."

AN APPARITION IN 1750.—*From an old MS.*

"This APPARITION was seen about the end of July 1749, in the Hill which lyes betwixt Tay-mouth and Glenquech, by one Anderson who was a Herd aged about Eighteen years. He said that having lien down to rest himself he heard a great noise behind him, upon which he looked that way and saw a great number of people in the Highland dress moveing towards him. They soon came up to the place where he was lying. When to his great Surprize he saw the appearances of Several persons who were said to have been kill'd at the Battle of Culloden, as also of Several of his Acquaintances who had dyed a natural death not long before. Among the last one DONALD WALKER, who was a farmer at a place call'd the Port, just opposite to the Kirk of KENMOIR, who had dyed six months before theApparition. The lad was so bold as to speak to this last, and ask'd where they were going. DONALD answered that they were going to the South to acquaint their friends what was to happen, or words to that purpose. Anderson would have ask'd some other questions, but Donald told him they had no time then, but if he would meet him in that place next Friday, he would tell him things well worth his hearing. Upon which they parted. Anderson went home to a brother-in-law's house, not far from the foot of the Hill, where he was no sooner sett down than

he fainted. After he recovered he told them what he had seen but they thinking he was raveing, putt him to bed. In the morning he still told them the same Story without any variation, so that at last they were persuaded of the truth of it. Then they would have had him to break his appointment, but he was positive he would goe. Accordingly on Fryday he went to the same place of the Hill, where he had not been long, before they appeared as formarly. Haveing again entered on his discourse with Donald, he was told by him that he might be assured that the RESTORATION of the ROYAL FAMILY was near at hand, and that the KING would certainly be crowned in the year FIFTY and all would then be quiet. That in a little time he would see greater Battles foughten and by more numerous Armies than what had been in Scotland for a long time. He at the same time warned him not to come near the place of the Hill, otherwise if he did so on Thursdays and Frydays, he would suffer for it.

Anderson says, That both times he saw this Multitude they did not walk, but seemed to be at some distance from the Ground as 'twere Sailing or Swimming thro the Air, neither did they move their feet at all. He particularly observes Donald's orders and can by no means be persuaded to go to that part of the Hill on the days forbidden. He has been severall times examined and still affirms the seeing of the Apparition for a truth.

> May God of His infinite Mercy for CHRISTS Sake turn this Apparition into reall Vision and may wee Live to hear and see a Speedy and Happy Restoration of the Royal Family of STEUARTS before the end of this Year 1750. Amen and Amen."

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